

Ðæt halige godspell þe ge hyrdon nu rædan
seð þa biſceop eal þa runderhal of undeſere
þeode embe urne drihten ræddon on heora geſeahce
him beſpynan / cƿædon ; hƿæt mage we don . nu þe
man ƿyrre ſƿa fe la cæna . ge fe hyne forlættid ſƿa .
þo ge lƿe ad ealle menn end meƿ on hyne .
ge cumad þa reman ſcan leoda . ge ƿe land ge ge d .

The Chronology and Canon of

ÆLFRIC ⊕F EYNESHAM

Aaron J Kleist

ge eode . ac to ðan ælmihtigan drihtene . þe on þa fe
halgan rode for us hangode . Si him lof ge ƿuldon
hyrſinnian eadmodnƿyre . on ealra ƿoruld ƿoruld
amen ; FERIA . VI . IN QUINTA . EBDOMADA . XL .

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Anglo-Saxon Studies 37

THE CHRONOLOGY AND CANON
OF ÆLFRIC OF EYNHAM

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THE CHRONOLOGY AND CANON
OF ÆLFRIC OF EYNHAM

Aaron J. Kleist

D. S. BREWER

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Abbreviations

ACMRS	Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASMMF	Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile
AST	Anglo-Saxon Texts
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society e.s. extra series o.s. original series s.s. supplementary series
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latin
CH	<i>Catholic Homilies</i>
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
LS	<i>Lives of Saints</i>
LSE	Leeds Studies in English
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RES	<i>The Review of English Studies</i>
SEM	Studies in the Early Middle Ages
SEMLL	Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature
SH	<i>Supplemental Homilies</i>
TH	<i>Temporale Homilies</i>
UK	Upchurch and Kleist

Ælfrician Manuscript Sigla

The following seeks to offer a single set of sigla for Ælfrician scholarship, as competing systems have complicated the task of comparing manuscript studies over the years. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116, for instance, has been referred to variously as A, b, J², and S.¹ The siglum 'C' has been used to designate Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, 188, and 198; and London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii.² Interrelated manuscripts – such as the three volumes known as 'the Junius-Hatton Ecclesiastical Handbook and Homiliary', Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, Hatton 114, and Junius 121 – are sometimes referred to by an ambiguously collective siglum (in this case, 'T').³ Complex textual history, furthermore, may underlie seemingly straightforward manuscript designations (e.g., 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162'), as where part of an existing manuscript has been extracted from another. The sigla below seek to provide a new standard that is comprehensive and precise, allowing scholars to speak in common both about more obscure manuscripts (the transcriptions by Friedrich Lindenbrog, for example [our Tr3], referenced by Ker under 'Lost and Untraced MSS') and specific portions of interconnected tomes ('V1a', 'V1b', and 'V2', for instance, instead of 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 + 421').

The entries comprise [1] manuscripts referenced by Clemoes, Godden, and/or Pope, [2] other manuscripts containing works possibly or certainly by Ælfric, [3] witnesses to Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*, [4] witnesses to *The Old English Ely Privilege*, and [5] transcriptions of Ælfrician material. The first category, perhaps the most common set of sigla employed by modern Ælfrician scholarship, starts with a run from A to V (excluding 'I', presumably to avoid confusion with the personal pronoun). For Clemoes, the alphabetical order reflects his understanding of the development of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, moving from its earliest form to the latest; for Godden, the order is 'generally appropriate' to the Second Series' development, but not to be taken rigorously.⁴ Clemoes, Godden, and Pope use X with superscript letters to designate manuscripts containing 'only a little' of Ælfric's work,⁵ and f with superscript letters to reference manuscript fragments;

¹ Crawford, *Exameron*, p. 5; MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version', p. 57; Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, p. 250; and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. xvii.

² Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. ix; MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version', p. 57; Crawford, *Exameron*, p. 5; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xiii; and Garmonsway, *Colloquy*, p. 1.

³ See, for example, Clemoes, *First Series*, p. xvii; Godden, *Second Series*, p. xiv.

⁴ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. xvii, and Godden, *Second Series*, p. xiii. This arrangement reflects a later stage in Clemoes' approach to the manuscripts, as his doctoral thesis, on which the printed edition is based, uses a different and slightly less extensive set of sigla ('Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', pp. xxiv–xxvi).

⁵ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. xvii; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. xiii; Pope elaborates on the phrase, describing these manuscripts as 'of secondary importance for Ælfric's homiletic work, as containing no more than a few homilies or letters, sometimes only brief excerpts, amid other work not his or not of the same character' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 13). Pope indicates that the original list agreed upon by himself and Clemoes included eleven manuscripts in this category, to be designated X^a–X^k (*Homilies*,

in both cases, the letters are simply arranged according to Ker's *Catalogue* – that is, alphabetically by manuscript name. To the run of A–V, Pope adds W and Z (in 'an arbitrary order').⁶ Y, however, does not appear in the sigla lists of Clemoes, Godden, and Pope;⁷ consequently, it is appropriated here for our second category, other manuscripts containing works possibly or certainly by Ælfric. Y1–Y29 proceed alphabetically,⁸ as do manuscripts in the three remaining specialised categories: GG1–GG13, which contain no Ælfrician material save copies of the *Grammar* and/or *Glossary*;⁹ EP1–EP12, which specifically relate to *The Old English Ely Privilege*; and Tr1–Tr12, early modern transcriptions rather than medieval copies of Ælfrician material.

Note that manuscript subdivisions listed here, such as D1 and D2, should be distinguished from subdivisions designated by Clemoes and Godden that refer to related items in First and Second Series manuscripts. Such 'content' subdivisions are discussed in 'The Development of CH I' and 'The Development of CH II' below, as well as under 'Subdivisions' in the descriptions of Ælfrician manuscripts. For ease of reference, however, they are also integrated here.

vol. I, p. 13). X^b, Xⁱ, X^h, and Xⁱ are not among the manuscripts described by Pope, Godden or Clemoes, but Pope does at one point identify them (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 86 n. 5).

⁶ Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 12.

⁷ Pope does use Y internally to refer to London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv (our Y13), but does not include it in his list of sigla because 'it contains no homilies and has not been used in the present edition' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 85).

⁸ This new 'Y' series is regrettably not as informative as the chronologically arranged A–V series or category-based X and f series. Indeed, certain items therein (such as Y1 and Y15, respectively) might arguably be placed in the X or f series; as such would require rearranging existing items in these series, however, inaugurating this new catch-all series seems preferable.

⁹ Eight other witnesses to the *Grammar* and *Glossary*, which include other Ælfrician work, appear in other categories: X^c, X^b, Y24, Tr1, Tr3, Tr4, Tr5, and Tr7.

Manuscripts Referenced by Clemoes, Godden, and/or Pope

A	London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii, fols 4r–218r	
B	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (2406)	Clemoes subdivisions:¹⁰ Ba (fols vi^r–x^r [Ker §310.1–4]) Bb (fols xi^r–xxxix^v [§310.5]) Bc (fols 1r–11v [§310.6–10]) Bd (fols 12r–64r [§310.11–31]) - Bd1 (fols 12r–47v and 60r–64r [§310.11–22 and 30–1]) and - Bd2 (fols 47v–60r [§310.23–9]) Be (fols 65r–128v [§310.32–64]) - Be1 (fols 65r–85r [§310.32–42]), - Be2 (fols 85r–92v [§310.43–6]), - Be3 (fols 92v–97r [§310.47–8]), - Be4 (fols 97r–107v [§310.49–53]), - Be5 (fols 107v–116r [§310.54–7]), - Be6 (fols 116r–126r [§310.58–63]), and - Be7 (fols 126r–128v [§310.64]) Bf (fols 129r–154v [§310.65–75]) Bg (fols 155r–170r [§310.77–84]) Godden subdivisions:¹¹ Ba (fols vi^r–x^r [Ker §310.1–4]) Bb (fols xi^r–xxxix^v [§310.5]) Bc (fols 1r–20v [§310.6–12]) Bd (fols 21r–64r [§310.13–31]) Be (fols 65r–128v [§310.32–64]) Bf (fols 129r–154v [§310.65–75]) Bg (fols 155r–170r [§310.77–84])
C	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303	Clemoes subdivisions:¹² Ca (pp. 1–75 [Ker §57.1–17]) Cb (pp. 76–185 [§57.18–34]) Cc (pp. 185–202 [§57.35–40]) Cd (pp. 203–90 [§57.41–61]) Ce (pp. 290–362 [§57.62–73]) Godden subdivisions:¹³ As Clemoes.

¹⁰ *First Series*, pp. 2–5.

¹¹ *Second Series*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

¹² *First Series*, pp. 5–7.

¹³ *Second Series*, p. xxxiv.

D	[D1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 (2404); and [D2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 342 (2405)	Clemons subdivisions: ¹⁴ Da (Bodley 340, fols 1r-169r; and Bodley 342, fols 1r-202v [Ker §309.1-74]) • Da1 (Bodley 340, fols 1r-169r; and Bodley 342, fols 50r-202v [§309.1-32 and 42-74]) and • Da2 (Bodley 342, fols 1r-50r [§309.33-41]) Db (Bodley 342, fols 206v-218r and 202v [§309.78-9 and 75]) • Db1 (Bodley 342, fols 206v-218r [§309.78-9]) and • Db2 (Bodley 342, fol. 202v [§309.75])	Godden subdivisions: None.
E	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198	Clemons subdivisions: ¹⁵ Ea (fols 1r-291v [Ker §48.1-43]) Eb (fols 150r-394v [§48.44-64]) • Eb1 (fols 150r-159v and 218r-247v [§48.44-51]), – Eb1(i) (fols 150r-159v [§48.44-5]) and – Eb1(ii) (fols 218r-247v [§48.46-51]) • Eb2 (fols 328r-385v [§48.52-7]) and • Eb3 (fols 291v-321r and 386r-394v [§48.58-64]) Ec (fols 321v-377r [§48.65-7]) • Ec1 (fols 321v-327v [§48.65]) and • Ec2 (fols 367r-377r [§48.66-7])	Godden subdivisions: ¹⁶ Ea (fols 1r-291v [Ker §48.1-43]) Eb (fols 150r-394v [§48.44-64]) • Eb1 (fols 150r-159v and 218r-247v [§48.44-51]), – Eb1(i) (fols 150r-159v [§48.44-5]) and – Eb1(ii) (fols 218r-247v [§48.46-51]) • Eb2 (fols 328r-385v [§48.52-7]) and • Eb3 (fols 291v-321r and 386r-394v [§48.58-64])
F	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, Part I, pp. 1-138 and 161-564 [see also R2]	Clemons subdivisions: None.	Godden subdivisions: ¹⁷ Fa (pp. 1-108 [Ker §38.1-8]) Fb (pp. 109-36 and 161-563 [§38.9-55])

¹⁴ *First Series*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁵ *First Series*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁶ *Second Series*, pp. xxviii-xxix.

¹⁷ *Second Series*, p. xxxi.

G	London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4r–169v	Cleomes subdivisions: ¹⁸ Ga (fols 7r–67v [Ker §209.3–20]), Gb (fols 68r–75v [§209.21–6]), Gc (fols 76r–103v [§209.27–34]), and Gd (fols 104r–169v [§209.35–53])	Godden subdivisions: None.
H	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v	Cleomes subdivisions: ¹⁹ Ha (fols 5v–17v, 21v–33r, 35r–69r, 75v–131r, 145r–168v, 184v–235v, 237r–238v, and 236r [Ker §220.2–3, 5–6, 8–13, 17–29, 37–43, and 50–62]), Hb (fols 236v and 239r–254v [§220.63–6]), and Hc (fols 1r, 4r–5v, 17v–21v, 33r–35r, [69r–71v, 71v–75v, 95r–96r, [96r.] 131r–145r, 168v–177v, [177v–181r.] 181r–184v and 250r–254v [§220.1, 4, 7, [14,] ²⁰ 15–16, 21, [22,] ²¹ 30–6, 44–6, [47,] ²² 48–9, and 66])	Godden subdivisions: None.
J	[J1] London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii; and [J2] London, Lambeth Palace 489	Cleomes subdivisions: ²³ Ja (Cleopatra B. xiii, fols 1r–58v [Ker §144]), Jb (Lambeth 489, fols 1r–24v [§283.1–3]), and Jc (Lambeth 489, fols 25r–58v [§283.4–8])	Godden subdivisions: None.
K	Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28		

¹⁸ *First Series*, pp. 17–18.

¹⁹ *First Series*, pp. 19–21.

²⁰ Cleomes does not include Ker §220.14 in his subdivisions of H, but Pope indicates that this item was removed and copied afresh by the Hc interpolator (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28).

²¹ Cleomes later assigns to the Hc interpolator ‘a few words at the beginning’ of this item (*First Series*, p. 125).

²² Cleomes does not include Ker §220.47 in his subdivisions of H, but Pope indicates that this item was removed and copied afresh by the Hc interpolator (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28).

²³ *First Series*, pp. 22–4.

L	Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33	Clemons subdivisions: ²⁴ La (fols 2r–28v [Ker §18.1–2]), Lb (fols 29r–36v [§18.3–4]), Lc (fols 37r–52v [§18.5]), Ld (fols 53r–60v [§18.6–7]), and Le (fols 61r–227v [§18.9–44])	Godden subdivisions: ²⁵ La (fols 2r–28v [Ker §18.1–2]), Lb (fols 29r–36v [§18.3–4]), Lc (fols 37r–52v [§18.5]), Ld (fols 53r–60v [§18.6–7]), and Le (fols 61r–227v [§18.9–44]) • Le1 (fols 61r–120v [§18.9–20]) and • Le2 (fols 120v–227v [§18.21–44])
M	Cambridge, University Library, li. 4. 6		
N	London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix		
O	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302		
P	[P1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (5135) (formerly Junius 23); and [P2] Lawrence, Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Pryce C2.2 (formerly Y 104)	Clemons subdivisions: ²⁶ Pa (Hatton 115, fols 1r–64v and 66r–67v [Ker §332.1–17 and 20]), Pb (Hatton 115, fols 68r–82v; Pryce C2.2; and Hatton 115, fols 83r–94v [§332.21–4 and 25–6]), and Pc (Hatton 115, fols 95r–139v [§332.27–33]); plus additions: 1 (Hatton 115, fol. 65rv [§332.18–19] and 2 (Hatton 115, fols 140r–154r [§332.34–6]) • 2(i) (Hatton 115, fols 140r–147v [§332.34]), • 2(ii) (Hatton 115, fols 148r–153v [§332.35], and • 2(iii) (Hatton 115, fol. 154r [§332.36])	Godden subdivisions: ²⁷ Pa (Hatton 115, fols 1r–67v [Ker §332.1–20]), Pb [as Clemons], and Pc [as Clemons]; additions not mentioned
Q	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188		

²⁴ *First Series*, p. 27.

²⁵ *Second Series*, p. xlv.

²⁶ *First Series*, pp. 34–6.

²⁷ *Second Series*, pp. lxi–lxvii.

R	[R1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, Part I, pp. 1–270; and [R2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, Part II, pp. 139–60 [see also F]	Clemones subdivisions: None.	Godden subdivisions: ²⁸ Ra (CCCC 178, pp. 1–30; CCCC 162, pp. 139–60; and CCCC 178, pp. 33–163 [Ker §41A.1–18]) ²⁹ and Rb (CCCC 178, pp. 164–270 [§41A.20–32])
S	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116 (5136) (formerly Junius 24)	Clemones subdivisions: ³⁰ Sa (pp. 1–252, 253–61, 279–90, and 290–4 [Ker §333.1–16]) and Sb (pp. 261–78 and 295–395 [§333.17–26])	Godden subdivisions: None.

²⁸ *Second Series*, pp. lxvi–lxvii.

²⁹ Godden does not include §41A.19 in either subdivision.

³⁰ *First Series*, pp. 40–1.

T	[T1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (5210) (formerly Junius 99); [T2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (5134) (formerly Junius 22); and [T3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232)	Clemons subdivisions: ³¹ Tb (Hatton 113, fols 1r–115v [Ker §331.1–32]), Tc (Hatton 113, fols 115v–144v; and Hatton 114, fols 9r–140r [§331.33–58]), • Tc1 (Hatton 114, fols 22v–36v, 75v–97*v, and 123v–140r [§331.39–40, 48–51, and 57–8]), • Tc2 (Hatton 113, fols 115v–144v; and Hatton 114, fols 9r–22v [§331.33–8]), • Tc3 (Hatton 114, fols 36v–75v [§331.41–7]), and • Tc4 (Hatton 114, fols 97*v–123v [§331.52–6]) Td (Hatton 114, fols 140r–230r [§331.59–75]), and Tg (Junius 121, fols 138r–160r [§338.31–5]) • Tg1 (Junius 121, fols 138r–148v [§338.31–2]), • Tg2 (Junius 121, fols 148v–154v [§338.33]), • Tg3 (Junius 121, fols 154v–157r [§338.34]), and • Tg4 (Junius 121, fols 157r–160r [§338.35])	Godden subdivisions: ³² Ta (Junius 121, fols 35v–110v [Ker §338.9–26]), Tb (Hatton 113, fols 1r–144v; and Hatton 114, fols 9r–230r [§331.1–75]) • Tb1 (Hatton 113, fols 1r–115v [§331.1–32]), • Tb2 (Hatton 113, fols 115v–144v [§331.33–6]), • Tb3 (Hatton 114, fols 36v–140r [§331.41–58]), and • Tb4 (Hatton 114, fols 140r–230r [§331.59–75]) Tc (Hatton 114, fols 230r–246v, 1r–8v, and 247rv; and Junius 121, fols 111r–160r [§331.76–8 and 82–5, and §338.27–35]) • Tc1 (Junius 121, fols 111r–160r [§338.27–35]), • Tc2 (Hatton 114, fols 1r–8v [§331.82–4]), and • Tc3 (Hatton 114, fols 230r–246v and 247rv [§331.76–8 and 85])
U	Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 34 (369)		

³¹ *First Series*, pp. 43–5.

³² *Second Series*, pp. lxvi–lxvii.

V	[V1a] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419; [V1b] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 1 and 2; and [V2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 3–354	Clemons subdivisions: ³³ Va (CCCC 421, p. 2; CCCC 419, pp. 1–366; CCCC 421, pp. 99–208; and CCCC 421, pp. 227–354 [Ker §68.16, §68.1–15, §69.6–9, and §69.12–15]) and Vb (CCCC 421, pp. 3–96 and 209–224 [§69.1–5 and 10–11])	Godden subdivisions: None.
W	London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii		
Z	[Za] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 (942); and [Zb] ³⁴ London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, fols 18r–40v		
X ^a	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190		
X ^b	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 320, fols 117r–170r		
X ^c	London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x		
X ^d	London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2		
X ^e	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols 2r–173v		
X ^f	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi		
X ^g	London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xxii		
X ^h	London, British Library, Harley 3271		
X ⁱ	London, Lambeth Palace 487		
X ^j	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 943		

³³ *First Series*, p. 47.

³⁴ While for the sake of consistency the two parts of Z receive distinct designations, only Za contains Ælfrician material.

X ^k	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 7585		
f ^a	[f ^{a(0)}] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, Part II, fols 1r–2v and 7r–10r; and [f ^{a(2)}] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, Part II, fols 3r–6v and 11r–29v	Clemons subdivisions: None. Clemoes subdivisions: ³⁵ f ^a a (CCCC 367, fols 23rv, 6rv and 3r–5r; 5rv and 24rv; 11r–16v; 28rv; 28v, 19rv and 27rv; 27v, 18rv and 22rv; and 25rv [Ker §63.4–10]) and f ^b b (CCCC 367, fols 21rv and 20r; 20rv and 26rv; and 17rv and 29rv [§63.1–3])	Godden subdivisions: None. Godden subdivisions: None.
f ^b	Cambridge, Jesus College 15 (Q. A. 15), fols i–x and 1r–10v		
f ^c	[f ^{c(0)}] New Haven, Yale University Library, Osborn Collection; [f ^{c(2)}] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng.th.c.74; [f ^{c(3)}] Cambridge, Queens' College, Horne 75; and [f ^{c(4)}] ³⁶ Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Poole 10		
f ^d	Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35		
f ^e	[f ^{e(0)}] The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 133. D. 22 (21); [f ^{e(2)}] Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket Acc. 1996/12 (formerly Copenhagen, Det Arnamagnæanske Institut) [f ^{e(3)}] Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne pergamentfragmenter 637–64, 669–71, and 674–98		
f ^h	London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. xviii, fol. 131rv		
f ⁱ	[f ⁱ⁽⁰⁾] London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, fols 1r–28v, 31r–50v, 52r–54v, ³⁷ 56r–57v, 59r–60v, 65rv, and 67rv [see also Y15]; and [f ⁱ⁽²⁾] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q. e. 20 (15606)		

³⁵ *First Series*, pp. 50–2.

³⁶ While for the sake of consistency the four parts of f⁽ⁱ⁾ receive distinct designations, only the first three contain Ælfrician material.

³⁷ Where Ker tentatively includes fol. 54rv in this collection, a more recent discussion of fols 52rv and 54rv by Stuart Lee ('Two Fragments') identifies them as fragments related to Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (LS 2 [Skeat I.2], 5 [Skeat I.5], and LS II.33 [the last only in Skeat; not written by Ælfric]), and reconstructs them using the relevant passages from Skeat.

f ^k	Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, fols 4r–92v (formerly fols ‘23r–234v’) ³⁸
f ^l	London, British Library, Harley 2110, fols 5rv* and 4rv*
f ^m	[f ^{m(1)}] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981, no. 16; and [f ^{m(2)}] London, British Library, Harley 5915, fol. 13 [see also G7a]
f ^p	[f ^{p(1)}] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 (5196); and [f ^{p(2)}] ³⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86 (5197)
f ^q	Oxford, Brasenose College, Latham M. 6. 15

³⁸ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 293.

³⁹ While for the sake of consistency the two parts of f^p receive distinct designations, only f^{p(1)} contains Ælfrian material.

Other Manuscripts Containing Works [possibly or certainly] by Ælfric

Y1	Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyányana 35 (R.I.35)
Y2	Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyányana 242 (R.II.82)
Y3	[Y3a] Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum M. 16. 2 (47) (formerly Salle, iii. 68); and [Y3b] London, British Library, Add. 32246
Y4	Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63 (70)
Y5	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, Part I, Section B, pp. 8–160 and 167–76
Y6	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, pp. 1–268
Y7	Cambridge, Pembroke College 25
Y8	Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale 56 (previously 47 and 32)
Y9	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595 (4°)
Y10	Lincoln, Cathedral Library 298, no. 2
Y11	London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols 93r–130r
Y12	[Y12a] London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xv, fols 120r–153r; and [Y12b] London, British Library, Egerton 3314
Y13	London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv
Y14	London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i, fols 70r–177v
Y15	London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, fols 29r–30v [see also f ⁱ]
Y16	[Y16a] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, vol. 1, fols 2r–73v and 77r–88v; and [Y16b] London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. ii, fols 238r–241v
Y17	London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i, fols 43r–203r
Y18	[Y18a] ⁴⁰ London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi; and [Y18b] London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii
Y19	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. viii, fols 22r–25r
Y20	London, British Library, Royal 8 C. vii, fols 1r–2v
Y21	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G 63
Y22	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (6464), fols 1r–61v
Y23	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76 (4125) (formerly Hatton 100)
Y24	Oxford, St John's College 154

⁴⁰ While for the sake of consistency the two parts of Y16 and Y18 receive distinct designations, only Y16a and Y18b contain Ælfrician material.

Ælfrician Manuscript Sigla

Y25	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5362
Y26	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 586
Y27	Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginense Lat. 1283, fol. 114v
Y28	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 26 (A.292)
Y29	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U.109), fols 173r–198v

Witnesses to Ælfric's Grammar [2.4.1] and Glossary [2.4.2]

[Additional witnesses: X^c, X^h, and Y24 above; and Tr1, Tr3, Tr4, Tr5, and Tr7 below]

GG1	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 449
GG2	Cambridge, Trinity College R. 9. 17 (819), fols 1r–48r
GG3	Cambridge, University Library, Hh. 1. 10
GG4	Durham, Cathedral Library, B. III. 32
GG5	London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. ii, fols 10r–135v
GG6	London, British Library, Harley 107
GG7	[GG7a] London, British Library, Harley 5915, fols 8r–9v [see also f ^{mn} (2)]; and [GG7b] Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Add. 1000 [formerly Sigmaringen]
GG8	[GG8a] London, British Library, Royal 12 G. xii, fols 2r–9r; and [GG8b] Oxford, All Souls College 38, fols 1r–12r
GG9	London, British Library, Royal 15 B. xxii
GG10	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35 (6467)
GG11	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 730 (2709)
GG12	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Anglais 67
GG13	Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 174

Witnesses to The Old English Ely Privilege [7.12]

EP1	London, British Library, Add. 5819, fols 3v–5r
EP2	London, British Library, Add. 9822, fols 13r–14v
EP3	London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 13
EP4	London, British Library, Cotton Domitian xv, fols 97r–100v

Ælfrician Manuscript Sigla

EP5	London, British Library, Harley 230, fols 123r–124r
EP6	London, British Library, Stowe Charter 31
EP7	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 97 (5038)
EP8	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Cambridge 22 (17772), fols 1r–2r
EP9	Public Record Office, C 56, 8 [Conf. R. 1 Hen. VII, pt 1], no. 11
EP10	Public Record Office, C 56, 35 [Conf. R. 2 Hen. VIII, pt 3], no. 3
EP11	Public Record Office, C 56, 97 [Conf. R. 14–18 Eliz.], no. 6
EP12	Public Record Office, C 56, 107 [Conf. R. 4 Jas. I], no. 13

Transcriptions

Tr1	Bern, Stadtbibliothek 468, Art. 14, fol. 4v
Tr2	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 379, fols 10r–12v
Tr3	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Philol. 263, fols 16r–19v and 32r–36r
Tr4	Hannover, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek IV. 495
Tr5	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. ix, fols 208r–213v and 213r–215r
Tr6	London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. vii, fols 10r–12r
Tr7	London, Lambeth Palace 783, fols 248r–253v
Tr8	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ballard 58 (10844)
Tr9	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 41 (5153)
Tr10	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 47 (5159)
Tr11	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 68 (5179)
Tr12	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 381, fols 140v–147v

Introduction

A millennium and more ago, a simple monk of Winchester embarked on studies that would make him the most erudite, prolific, and influential author writing in English before Chaucer. Ælfric was his name, and Ælfric of Eynsham he would come to be called.¹ During his life, his works would be sought by bishops and archbishops; for centuries thereafter, they would be copied even as knowledge of Old English began to fade. What drove Ælfric was no desire to leave his mark on the literary landscape, however, but an acute belief in the need of his nation for Christian doctrine. At a time when Vikings were ravaging the coastlines, the millennium was drawing nigh, and unorthodox writers to his mind were leading the uneducated into error, Ælfric found himself possessed of a rich theological education and a keen burden to share it for the salvation of others' souls.

For over twenty years, driven by his demanding pedagogical vision, Ælfric produced a complex array of writings that were exceptional both in scope and quality. He composed aids for learning Latin, translated books of the Old Testament, instructed clergy in liturgical practice, provided overviews of world history, authored treatises on cosmology and astronomical time, recounted tales of saintly behaviour, and above all commented on Scripture and on doctrine – all with the practical view of teaching clergy and laity how to think and live as Christians. He further stood out from his contemporaries, moreover, by his discriminating emphasis on orthodox sources, his exegetical analysis of Scripture, his memorably clear rhythmical style, and his remarkable authorial transparency, which – strikingly for a medieval author – revealed a self-conscious, vulnerable human being at work who cared genuinely for his readers.

A half-century and more ago, the myriad contents of Ælfric's canon were comprehensively set forth in a 1959 study by Peter Clemoes called 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works'. Since that time, much water has passed under the scholarly bridge: Pope updated the contents somewhat in 1967,² Godden explicated the compositional process behind Ælfric's Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* in 1979,³ Godden published Clemoes' exposition of Ælfric's First Series dissemination in 1997,⁴ and numerous scholars besides have attributed new items to Ælfric, questioned items'

¹ Substantial work has been done on Ælfric's career and the corpus of his writings. For overviews of his life, see for example Joyce Hill, 'Life and Works'; Clemoes, 'Ælfric'; Gneuss, *Ælfric of Eynsham*; and Wilcox's introduction to his *Ælfric's Prefaces*, as well as the entries by Godden, 'Ælfric of Eynsham'; and Leinbaugh, 'Ælfric'; as well as 'Ælfric and His Impact' in Kleist, *The Digital Ælfric*. On Ælfric's works, see Clemoes, 'Chronology'; Pope, 'Introduction', in his *Homilies*; and now 'The Ælfrician Corpus' below.

² 'The Ælfric Canon', *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 136–45.

³ *Second Series*, pp. xx–xciv.

⁴ *First Series*, pp. 64–168.

authorship or dating, edited items afresh, and otherwise challenged parts of Clemoes' original vision. No one, however, has sought either to summarize these advances in scholarly understanding or to create a new comprehensive understanding of Ælfric's work that encompasses such research. Until now.

This volume offers a survey of three major aspects of Ælfriciana. 'Ælfric's Chronology', first of all, examines challenges to Clemoes' ground-breaking study, particularly regarding the five dates that formed the anchor points of his understanding: 989, 992, 1002, 1005, and 1006. Rather than localize the 'composition' of the First and Second Series to a single year, moreover, it exhaustively reviews Clemoes' and Godden's arguments regarding their multi-stage dissemination, identifying posited points at which changes were made to each individual homily. Taking into account internal evidence and scholarly arguments for all of Ælfric's writings, furthermore, it provides a comprehensive breakdown of their proposed dates of composition, tracing in detail our best understanding of the progress of his career. Second, 'The Ælfrician Canon' seeks to capture what we think he may have written, redrawing the boundaries to include liminal 'Ælfrician' works, naming some twelve previously untitled texts,⁵ adding forty-two compositions not in Clemoes' 'Chronology',⁶ and identifying at least thirty-four items (including some of the above) whose authorship is still under debate.⁷ For each entry, it provides an overview of contents, suggested date(s) of composition, list of manuscript witnesses, existing and planned editions (where known), pages found in facsimile or digital images, English translations, notes, and cross-references. For both Series of *Catholic Homilies*, it tracks the dissemination of all homilies across manuscripts in each phase of composition; for Pope's *Supplementary Homilies*, it assigns dates to each; for both Series of *Temporale Homilies*, it gives Clemoes' posited contents in full; and for the *Lives of Saints*, it assigns dates to each item and identifies all manuscript witnesses

⁵ That is, items left untitled or referred to by liturgical occasion in Clemoes' 'Chronology' and previous editions: *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* I, II, and III [1.6.1.1.4]; *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [1.6.1.1.5]; *Modicum et iam non uidebitis me* [1.6.1.1.6]; *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [1.6.1.1.7]; *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum* [1.6.1.1.8]; *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi* [1.6.1.1.9]; *Nisi granum frumenti* [1.6.1.2.1]; *De sancta uirginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis** [1.6.1.2.2]; *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ* [1.6.1.3.2]; *Esto consentiens aduersario** [1.6.1.4.1]; *Læwedum mannum is to witenne* [4.4.4]; and *Her is geleafa* [8.6].

⁶ That is, *Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime** [1.6.1.1.2]; *Menn behofiað godre lare* [1.6.1.4.3]; *De octo uitis et de duodecim abusiis** [2.1.3]; *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [3.2.2]; *De tribus ordinibus sæculi* [3.2.3]; *De uaniloquio neglegentium** [3.2.4]; *Letter to Brother Edward** [4.3.1]; *Hieronimus se wurpfulla** [4.4.1]; *Be þam Iudeiscum** [4.4.3]; *Witan sceoldon smeagan** [4.4.5]; *Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid** [6.1]; *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis** [6.2]; *Decalogus Moysi* [6.3]; *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum de libris recipiendis** [6.4]; *De ecclesiastica consuetudine** [6.5]; *Erat in eodem monasterio** [6.6]; *Primus igitur homo** [6.7]; *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni* [6.8]; *Excerptiones de Prisciano** [6.9]; *Gregorii de pastoribus non recte gradientibus** [6.10]; *De his qui auguria adtendunt** [6.11]; *Hoc est Dei et sancti Cuthberti miraculum** [6.12]; *In illo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum** [6.13]; *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis** [6.14]; *De doctrina et exemplis praepositorum** [6.15]; *Isidori de sacerdotibus* [6.16]; *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum** [6.17]; *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur** [6.18]; *De pascha** [6.19]; *Regnauit igitur Osuald Christianissimus** [6.20]; *De septem gradibus aeclesiasticis* [6.21]; *Be ane munuccilde** [7.1]; *De auaritia* [7.2]; *Duo reges fuerunt** [7.4]; *De ebrietate cauenda** [7.5]; *Expositio officii** [7.6]; *Be gehadedum mannum* [7.8]; *The Old English Ely Privilege* [7.12]; *De sabbato* [7.14]; *De seruitio carnis** [7.15]; *Uton biddan ealle** [7.16]; and *Her geendað seo forme boc* [8.7].

⁷ Marked with an asterisk in 'The Ælfrician Canon' below.

not edited or collated by Skeat. Finally, 'Ælfrician Manuscripts' lists all witnesses to Ælfrician works; assigns sigla to manuscripts and transcriptions lacking a reference common to Clemoes, Godden, and Pope; delineates subdivisions within sigla (e.g., T1 [Hatton 113], T2 [Hatton 114], and T3 [Junius 121]) to facilitate precision and limit confusion; furnishes dates, origin, and provenance according to Ker, Gneuss, and another authorities; offers explanatory notes; lists references to printed manuscript descriptions; details Ælfrician contents; sets forth manuscript subdivisions where present in Budny, Clemoes, Godden, and Ker; and provides a tabular overview showing where witnesses to Ælfrician material survive.

Such details, while often unpalatably and nearly impenetrably complex, nonetheless open up a series of new questions for future scholarship. On the one hand, there is the issue of authorship: what does it mean for a text to be Ælfrician? In what sense may we speak of him as the 'author' of epitomes? What are the implications of multiple authorial versions? Should we think of these texts not as fixed but as fluid, being reshaped either by Ælfric or anonymous compilers over time? Should we count as 'Ælfrician' compilations made up entirely of extracts from Ælfric – whether or not Ælfric assembled them? What about amalgamations of material from Ælfric and other authors? Against Ælfric's wishes,⁸ should we adopt into his textual family these step-children that constitute important witnesses to the later development of his works? On the other hand, there is the role of readership: how would context affect how Ælfrician writings were read? How might a manuscript's contents colour audiences' understanding of a work, either through the selections that immediately surround it or through recurring elements in the collection as a whole? How might library holdings, programmatic copying or acquisition, the intellectual interests of clerical leaders, or socio-historical developments shape the use and appreciation of Ælfrician texts at certain centres – whether or not those readers knew them to be by Ælfric? Attention both to alterations to these works and contexts in which they were read may alert us to authorial and scribal habits of mind, shifting thematic concerns, and overarching didactic aims, offering new insights regarding discrete iterations of a text in particular manuscripts at specific moments in time. Whether one speaks of authorship or audience, no longer is it enough to establish the *ur*-text of Ælfric: a multiplicity of Ælfrics must now come into view.

Given the complexity of both the primary evidence and secondary scholarship, no claims to infallibility are here envisioned: at times, one is caught between titans of scholarship who disagree; at other points, the sheer paucity of evidence means that suggested dates (for example) are tentative at best. Consequently, while it hopes to aid future scholars by offering a reference and a map by which to navigate the works of Ælfric, this volume envisions itself more a snapshot of the scholarly understandings of our day than a definitive account of Ælfric's career. Those hoping in these pages for an enjoyable Sunday afternoon read, moreover, should be prepared for sore disappointment: such tedious details as are found herein may cause the

⁸ As expressed, e.g., at the end of his vernacular prefaces to the *Catholic Homilies* (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 177; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. 2).

most seasoned Anglo-Saxonist to pale. Nonetheless, it offers a reference for those expanding our understanding of Ælfric's chronology and canon – the letters, liturgy, science, linguistics, ecclesiastical history, biblical translations, hagiography, and homilies that sought to distill the best answers of the ages to the most pressing of human concerns, speaking to those who would heed it a word for all seasons.

1.

Ælfric's Chronology

If one study may be said to have defined modern conceptions of Ælfric's career, it might well be Peter Clemoes' exposition of 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works'. Originally published in 1959, reprinted as an *Old English Newsletter Subsidia* volume in 1980, and published again as part of Paul Szarmach's 2000 collection of readings on *Old English Prose*, the 'Chronology' draws on Clemoes' extensive analysis of Ælfrician manuscripts to achieve two watersheds in Anglo-Saxon scholarship: defining the contents of Ælfric's canon and placing them in broad chronological order. Remarkably, despite the decades that have passed since its appearance, this monolithic study as a whole remains largely unchallenged, continuing to influence students and editors of Ælfric's work. As Joyce Hill states:

Clemoes' 1959 study remains an essential point of reference, since the systematic presentation of Ælfric's corpus and the establishment of a relative and to some extent datable chronology provides the foundation for the 'identification' of Ælfric in terms of the sense of his own œuvre, the evolution of his interests, his responses to local and personal circumstances, his working practices, and his position vis-à-vis the Benedictine Reform, of which he was so self-consciously both product and proponent.¹

Over the years, however, like sharks worrying a vast carcass, scholars have questioned Clemoes' conclusions regarding authorship and dates piecemeal, with little effort being made either to account for all challenges proposed or to assess their implications for Clemoes' theory as a whole. Here, we will consider controversies surrounding a series of key dates that have consequence for major portions of Ælfric's corpus, map those dates onto the development of the *Catholic Homilies* in detail, and then set forth a comprehensive list of Ælfric's works in updated chronological order, paving the way for a detailed discussion of each of Ælfric's works and an examination of the manuscripts in which various versions of them are preserved. While the data still permit nothing near certainty, and disagreement and doubt remain, scholarship since Clemoes offers us nonetheless a remarkably coherent portrait of Ælfric's endeavours.

¹ 'Life and Works', pp. 37–8.

Key Dates

Five years were watersheds in Clemoes' understanding of Ælfric's career: 989, 992, 1002, 1005, and 1006. All have faced significant challenges since the publication of his 'Chronology' and each will be examined in turn in the pages ahead. 989, to begin with, still seems the most likely year for Ælfric to have completed his composition and first organization of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* (CH I). Such a conclusion entails situating in the latter half of 991 (rather than 994) the Viking raids of which he speaks in his Latin preface to the Second Series (CH II), discounting the evidence of the liturgical year, and dating Archbishop Sigeric's death to 28 October 994 – before which both Series would thus have been issued. 992, next of all, Clemoes had associated both with the completed composition of the Second Series and with the elevation of Bishop Wulfsig, after which may be dated Ælfric's *Letter for Wulfsig*. The completion of CH II may now be situated between [A] January to June 991 and [B] January to June 992, the respective probable periods in which Ælfric sent copies of CH I and CH II to Sigeric, while Wulfsig's elevation should now be redated to *ca* 993 (after 4 June). 1002 for Clemoes referred both to the death of Ealdorman Æthelweard – before which Ælfric penned such texts as the *Grammar* and *Glossary*, *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, and the *Hexameron* – and the elevation of Wulfstan as archbishop of York, prior to which Ælfric completed his work on the *Heptateuch* and produced the *Admonitio ad filium spirituale*. While the dating of Wulfstan's elevation still stands, Æthelweard's death we must reposition to *ca* 998. 1005 Clemoes understood as the date of Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham, an event key to dating the Pastoral Letters. This landmark we will place later in the period between 1002 and 16 November 1005 – that is, between Ælfric's *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, written by *frater* Ælfric to the *archiepiscopus*, and the (re)foundation of Eynsham Abbey, whose charter Archbishop Ælfric witnessed before passing away in late 1005. 1006, finally, Clemoes linked to Ælfric's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and *Sermo in natale unius confessoris*, texts addressed respectively to Cenwulf and Æthelwold II, successive bishops of Winchester: Cenwulf's tenure we may perhaps now date between 16 November 1006 and late 1006, while that of Æthelwold we may perhaps date between [A] late 1006 (perhaps after 16 November) to 1007, the period between Cenwulf's death and Æthelwold's first attestations in charters, and [B] 1012 to the first half of 1013 (possibly before late summer), between Æthelwold's last appearance in charters and the first occasion where his successor served as witness.

Table 1 Key Dates for Ælfric's Chronology

	<i>Proposed date</i>	<i>Clemones' date</i>	<i>Event</i>
	989	989	The Initial Completion of <i>CH I</i>
Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992 ²		992	The Initial Completion of <i>CH II</i>
<i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June)		992	The Elevation of Wulfsgie III
<i>ca</i> 998		1002	The Death of Ealdorman Æthelweard
1002		1002	The Elevation of Wulfstan the Homilist
Later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005		1005	The Elevation of Ælfric as Abbot
Perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006		1006	The Tenure of Cenwulf
Late 1006 x 1007		1006	The Elevation of Æthelwold II

Around these revised milestones Ælfric's corpus may be arranged. The results represent no wholesale revision of the pioneering work of Clemones, Godden, and Pope; nor does this murky world of authorial revision, posthumous reuse, textual transmission, and incomplete evidence permit our conclusions to be absolute. Nevertheless, reassessing such authors and evidence through the lens of subsequent scholarship allows us in the pages below to set forth Ælfric's chronology and corpus with greater precision. That, in turn, leads to unexpected insights. We find Ælfric simultaneously working on multiple versions of *CH I* and *II* at a feverish pace. We uncover points of potential cross-pollination of ideas. We gain greater understanding of his complex working methods. We wrestle with the implications of multiple originals of the same text. We discover in the same manuscript homilies at different stages of development. We reconsider Ælfric's 'characteristic' shaping of his sources when it comes to Latin epitomes. We revisit liminal texts and redefine them as 'Ælfrician'. We call for individual copies to be read in light of their surrounding codex. We situate content afresh in historical centres with idiosyncratic concerns. And through it all, by summarizing conclusions to date and opening the door to new questions, we seek to set the table for a banquet of new scholarship.

² Here and throughout, 'x' refers to years between which events occurred. 'Late 1006 x 1007' thus means 'Late in the period between 1006 and 1007'.

989: *The Initial Completion of CH I; and between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992: The Initial Completion of CH II (formerly 992)*

989 and 992, to begin with, Clemoes saw as the years when Ælfric 'wrote' – that is, completed the composition and first organization of – his two Series of *Catholic Homilies*.³ 989 likely still stands as our best estimate for CH I; the initial completion of CH II, however, may be repositioned slightly to the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992. At least three factors play a role in the controversy over these dates: Viking depredations, here dated to 991; the liturgical year, here discounted as evidence; and the death of Archbishop Sigeric, here dated to 994. Vikings, first of all, appear on the scene in Ælfric's *Latin Letter* to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury from 12 or 13 February 990,⁴ in the preface of his Second Series: 'multis iniuriis infestum piratarum concutiebamur postquam praefatum libellum tuae sanctitati transmisimus' ('after we sent your Holiness the little book mentioned before [the First Series], we were troubled by many injuries from hostile pirates').⁵ While scholars had previously interpreted these *multi iniurii* as referring to the raids of Olaf and Swein on and following 8 September 994⁶ – raids which extended at least to Hampshire, some seventy miles east of Ælfric's abbey at Cerne in Dorset⁷ – Kenneth Sisam argued instead that they described the autumn attacks of 991 that included the battle of Maldon on 10 or 11 August. Dating Sigeric's death to '28 October, or thereabouts' in 994,⁸ Sisam noted that were Ælfric writing in 994, he would speak of the raids as a current affliction rather than a past memory. Were he writing about the attacks of 991, however, the First Series would have been completed and sent to Sigeric between 12 or 13 February 990 and the first half of 991.⁹ Clemoes accepted this argument;¹⁰ Malcolm Godden, on the other hand, did not. Ælfric's *multi iniurii*, Godden said, are 'most naturally taken' as the raids of 994, since those of 991 concentrated around Kent and East Anglia, and the only link to the southwest (where Ælfric's abbey at Cerne was located) was the post-Maldon treaty of *II Æthelred*, which refers to Archbishop Sigeric, Ealdorman Æthelweard (our Ælfric's patron)¹¹ and Ealdorman Ælfric of Hampshire, respectively.¹² Such a position differed from that of a number of other

³ 'Chronology', p. 56.

⁴ Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 252.

⁵ CH II.pref.13–15 (Godden, *Second Series*, p. 1).

⁶ Dietrich, 'Abt Aelfrik', quoted by Sisam, 'Bodley 340 and 342', repr. in his *Studies*, p. 158.

⁷ Godden, *Second Series*, p. xci.

⁸ Based on two obits of II Kal. Nov. (31 October) and V Kal. Nov. (28 October) in London, British Library, Cotton Nero C. ix (Sisam, *Studies*, p. 157).

⁹ That is, between Sigeric's elevation and Olaf's attacks on Kent and East Anglia (Folkestone, Sandwich, and Ipswich) that preceded the battle of Maldon; see Keynes, 'Historical Context', pp. 87–9; Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 71 n. 95; and Sisam, *Studies*, pp. 158–9.

¹⁰ 'Chronology', p. 71 n. 95; see also Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35 and note 6; and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161.

¹¹ Æthelweard was principally responsible for the shires of Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall (Lavelle, 'Law, Death, and Peacemaking', p. 122).

¹² *Second Series*, p. xcii; see also Keynes, 'Historical Context', p. 92.

prominent scholars who associated the treaty with 991,¹³ contending that too little time would have passed between the Viking attacks commencing in September 994 and Sigeric's death in October 994 for the archbishop to have been involved in the peace negotiations that ensued thereafter; rather, they said, it was in 991 in the wake of Maldon that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* speaks of Sigeric counseling the king to purchase peace through tribute.¹⁴ Subsequently, however, Simon Keynes has challenged this view, noting that the treaty states not that Sigeric was present, but that peace should be established 'æfter ðam formalan, ðe Sigeric arcebiscop 7 Æðelwerd ealdormann 7 Ælfric ealdorman worhton' ('according to the agreements that Archbishop Sigeric, Ealdorman Æthelweard and Ealdorman Ælfric made').¹⁵ The implication, he concludes, is that 'II Æthelred was intended to supersede earlier treaties negotiated separately by [these men], without any necessary implication that Sigeric was still alive'. He states:

To the best of our knowledge, there is no reason why Ealdorman Æthelweard and Ealdorman Ælfric should have needed to buy peace from the Viking army in 991, and every reason why they should have done so after the Viking attacks in 994; and since the terms of the treaty are in general more appropriate to the conclusion of a sustained period of hostility, and specify an amount of tribute which only begins to make sense in the later context, it seems reasonable to conclude that the treaty does in fact belong to 994.¹⁶

For our purposes, therefore, II Æthelred is inconclusive: on the one hand, it may well reflect the raids of 994 that perhaps came closer to Ælfric than those of 991; on the other hand, the treaty need not have involved Sigeric, to whom Ælfric sent the Second Series after 'injuries from hostile pirates'. II Æthelred aside, therefore, we return to the following: were Sigeric to have died on 28 October 994 (on which more below), and were Ælfric writing of the raids of September or October 994, he still would likely have described his experience in the present tense, not the past. The First Series may thus still have been completed and sent to the archbishop prior to autumn 991, and Ælfric's comments may testify to raids later that year of which no other evidence remains.

In addition to Viking depredations, the liturgical year comes into play when seeking to date the *Catholic Homilies*. Sisam had realized that Ælfric might well have organized his volumes of *temporale* and *sanctorale* – that is, pieces for Sundays and moveable non-saints feasts linked to Easter versus feasts celebrated on set days in the calendar year – according either to the calendar of their year of composition or, 'more probably, the year in which they would first be used by others'.¹⁷ According to his calculations, the arrangement in CH I would have been

¹³ See, for example, Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, p. 401; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 377 n. 1; and Wormald, 'Æthelred the Lawmaker', pp. 60–1.

¹⁴ See for example Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 125.

¹⁵ Keynes, 'Historical Context', p. 104.

¹⁶ Keynes, 'Historical Context', pp. 91–2 and 103–7.

¹⁷ *Studies*, p. 160.

appropriate for 991, while that in *CH* II was divided, the first half conforming to the calendar for 993 and the second half conforming to the calendar for 992. Consequently, he placed the publication of the two Series at the turn of 990–1 and Midsummer 992, respectively.¹⁸ Sisam had also suggested that the calendar for 989 might accord with the order of the First Series, and it is this date that Clemoes preferred for the original compilation of *CH* I.¹⁹ Godden notes, however, that were it following the calendar for 989, Ælfric's homily for Palm Sunday [*CH* I.14] should have preceded that for the Annunciation [*CH* I.13]. Godden argues, in fact, that the entire argument is rather forced. On the one hand, 994 would have fit *CH* I perfectly, 'but that would have been too late if the Series was not sent to Sigeric until a year or so after the order was settled, as Clemoes argues'.²⁰ On the other hand, Sisam's patchwork of two years for *CH* II is clever but somewhat unsettling: 'it seems rather more likely', Godden states, 'that Ælfric would work by single calendar years, if at all'.²¹ The fact that Clemoes posits multiple stages of revision and dissemination, moreover, is for Godden the final straw: if (as Clemoes suggests) *CH* II was assembled in 989, reordered in 990 and 991, and finally issued in 992,²² 'almost any pair of years would do'; in short, he says, 'The order of homilies does not appear to be useful evidence of date.'²³ Even so, Godden acknowledges that while 'the argument from the order of fixed and moveable feasts is based on some miscalculations going back to Sisam ... that may not materially affect the dating proposed [by Clemoes] here' – that is, the completion of composition and first organization of *CH* I to 989.²⁴

Besides the Vikings and the liturgical calendar, the most important factor in dating the *Catholic Homilies* may be the year of Archbishop Sigeric's death. Two types of evidence here come into play: charters and witnesses to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In the latter, the evidence is divided: version A of the *Chronicle* dates Sigeric's death to 994, while versions CDEF date it to 995.²⁵ Sisam gave preference to A as the earliest version of the *Chronicle*, with its 994 date entered 'in a contemporary hand'; he also affirmed that the discrepancies were 'easily reconciled', inasmuch as in both A and F 'a single entry reports the death of Sigeric and the election of his successor, which took place on Easter Day (21 April) of the next year; so that the whole entry might well be transferred to the latter year [995]'.²⁶ While CDEF may not stem from a single source – DEF derive from a now-lost Northern Version of the *Chronicle*, but F incorporates material from A, and C is related to the Northern Version through a common ancestor²⁷ – for Sisam they

¹⁸ *Studies*, p. 160.

¹⁹ In his edition, Clemoes points to 989 as 'the likeliest year among those to whose calendar the Series' relative order of fixed and moveable feasts is related' (*First Series*, p. 161) – that is, 989, 991, 992, and 994, according to Sisam (*Studies*, p. 160).

²⁰ Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciii; Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35.

²¹ Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciii.

²² Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 35–6 n. 6.

²³ Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciii.

²⁴ Editorial note by Godden in Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161 n. 1.

²⁵ See, for example, Nelson *et al.*, 'Sigeric 9'.

²⁶ *Studies*, p. 157.

²⁷ Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. xxix.

are close enough to be treated here as a single unit. Acknowledging the merits of Sisam's case, Godden nonetheless suggested that 'as good a case' could be made for 995.²⁸ Taking CDEF at face value, he pointed to A's entry for 993 describing Olaf's attack on towns like Maldon – an account 'generally seen as a conflation of events of 994 and 991'²⁹ – to argue that A's dating of Sigeric's death might likewise be 'dislocated' by a year.

Leaving this debate over the *Chronicle* at an impasse, more recent scholarship has concentrated on Sigeric's appearance in Anglo-Saxon charters. Here, too, the evidence is not straightforward. Sisam noted, for example, that S1379, dated 995, has Sigeric among its witnesses, while S886, dated the same year, has among its witnesses Sigeric's successor Ælfric.³⁰ Given that Ælfric was consecrated archbishop at Easter 995, one could envision Sigeric serving as witness in early 995 – but only if one was prepared to disregard the October date for his death in the obits of Cotton Nero C. ix.³¹ Something must give. For Godden, the weak link was the 994 date of Sigeric's death. Three charters, he noted, are dated 995 and include Sigeric among the witnesses: S882, S883, and S1379. The first he found particularly important, as it confirms the sale of land by Sigeric to raise funds to placate the Vikings, who devastated Kent and threatened to destroy Canterbury cathedral following their assault on London on 8 September 994.³² In Godden's view, 'Between then and Sigeric's presumed death on 28 October there is hardly time for the raid into Kent, the negotiations, the dispersal of the Vikings, and the drawing up of the charter, which speaks of the raids as if in the past.'³³ Simon Keynes, however, in a more recent assessment of these charters, does in fact date S882 squarely between 8 September and 28 October 994: noting (as had Sisam before him) that the diploma is dated in the seventh year of the indiction,³⁴ he views its 995 date as a scribal error for the year before.³⁵ He takes the same view of S883 and S1379, hypothesizing in the latter case that a later scribe inserted Sigeric's name 'into a space left blank during the vacancy at Canterbury created by his death in October 994'.³⁶ Combined with the three charters attested by Sigeric's successor Ælfric as 'archbishop-elect or "bishop" of Canterbury' in 995, as well as a previously overlooked obit for Sigeric in London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii [Y18b] dated 994, this evidence for Keynes is 'conclusive'.³⁷ While

²⁸ *Second Series*, p. xci.

²⁹ *Second Series*, p. xci; see also Keynes, 'Historical Context', pp. 88–90.

³⁰ References to charters are taken from Sawyer, *The Electronic Sawyer*.

³¹ *Studies*, p. 158.

³² See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. xxxiv.

³³ *Second Series*, p. xcii.

³⁴ As indictions are calculated as $(\text{year} + 2) \bmod 15 + 1$, the seventh year of the indication would be 994, not 995.

³⁵ *Diplomas*, pp. 251–2.

³⁶ *Diplomas*, pp. 252–3.

³⁷ 'Historical Context', p. 112. Godden, though respectful of Keynes' position, is unconvinced. Regarding the charters witnessed by Sigeric's successor in 995, he questions the testimony of the F version of the *Chronicle* that Archbishop Ælfric's election took place at Easter 995: 'Perhaps we should not place too much weight on this late tradition (it is mixed up in F with an extremely embroidered story of archbishop Ælfric's expulsion of clerics) and allow the possibility that there was some election or pre-election in late 995' – following Sigeric's death in October 995, that is – 'at a meeting which also

Godden would still date Sigeric's death and the completion of *CH* II to 995,³⁸ at present Keynes' conclusion remains the generally accepted view.³⁹ Consequently, as Michael Lapidge, reviewing Keynes' data, states (or somewhat overstates): 'The incontestable implication is that both series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* were issued before October 28, 994.'⁴⁰

What then is our specific timetable for these texts? While we cannot be certain about the Viking raids on Cerne, situating them in autumn 991 leads us to place the completion and initial production of both Series in the years immediately before and after. Besides the fact that Ælfric sent Sigeric his copy of *CH* I slightly before suffering *multi iniurii* from the Vikings, on two details Godden, Sisam, and Clemoes all agree: first, that the composition of *CH* II was underway when Ælfric sent *CH* I to Sigeric – Ælfric explicitly states in his Latin preface to the First Series that 'alterum uero librum modo dictando habemus in manibus' ('indeed, we have in hand another book being composed by means of dictation')⁴¹ – and second, that Ælfric, hurrying (*festinans*, as he says in the preface to the Second Series), finished *CH* II and sent it to Sigeric about a year later.⁴² Although Clemoes dates the 'completion' of *CH* II to 992,⁴³ therefore, it must have occurred between the time Ælfric sent copies of *CH* I and II to Sigeric. Clemoes suggests that the former went to Sigeric in the first half of 991, having been produced in the last half of the year before.⁴⁴ As we will see in our extended treatment of the development of the *Catholic Homilies* below, however, Sigeric's copy was not the first version of *CH* I; according to Clemoes, the copy in MS A, produced in the first half of 990, preceded it.⁴⁵ Though Clemoes associates the completion

generated the three charters' (*Commentary*, p. xxxv). Regarding the obit in Y18b, he says: 'since the manuscript belongs to the period 1023–35, some thirty to forty years after the event, I would see it as only one more piece of evidence, not the clinching argument that it has been seen as. (And since it was produced at Winchester, it is presumably not independent evidence but a reflex of the same tradition as the *A Chronicle*, which was probably kept at Winchester until some time in the eleventh century)' (*Commentary*, pp. xxxiii and xxxii n. 17).

³⁸ *Second Series*, p. xciii; *Commentary*, p. xxxv.

³⁹ Godden himself remarks that his dates for the *Catholic Homilies* (using 995 as the date of Sigeric's death) 'have been more often dismissed than accepted' (*Commentary*, p. xxxii).

⁴⁰ 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 127 n. 13. Godden states that Lapidge's note 'egregiously misrepresents [his] arguments' (*Commentary*, p. xxxii n. 17). See also Keynes, 'Re-Reading King Æthelred', p. 94.

⁴¹ *CH* I.pref.22–3 (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 173).

⁴² Sisam, *Studies*, p. 160; Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciii, and *Commentary*, p. xxxv; and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161. The time span is an estimate, but seems reasonable, as Ælfric also notes in his Second Series preface that he had sent the previous volume to Sigeric *nuper* ('recently' or 'not long ago' [*CH* II.pref.5]).

⁴³ 'Chronology', p. 56.

⁴⁴ Sigeric's copy would have been produced between [A] the revision of MS A, presumably earlier in the second half of 990 and [B] the issue of Sigeric's copy in the first half of 991 (*First Series*, pp. 161 and 162 n. 4).

⁴⁵ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; see also Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35 n. 6. While Clemoes' date is particularly precise, forming as it does part of his larger chronological theory, and while his dating has been generally followed (see, for example, Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 385; Gretsch, 'Ælfric, Language and Winchester', p. 127; Dumville, 'Beowulf Come Lately', p. 58; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 17; Marsden describes the manuscript as 'almost certainly written at Cerne Abbas during the first half of 990' [*Old English Reader*, p. 218]), it is not universally accepted: for Wilcox, 'the date of MS A seems particularly unknowable'; 'we should be cautious', he counsels, 'about suggesting certainty' (personal correspondence, 14 June 2017; see also his *Homilies*, p. 37, where he notes Clemoes'

of the First Series' composition with 989 based on evidence here discounted – calling 989 'the likeliest' candidate among those years whose liturgical calendar matched the First Series⁴⁶ – it makes sense that Ælfric would have finished his initial composition in 989, before commissioning MS A early the next year. As for *CH II*, Clemoes also uses calendrical arguments to suggest that Ælfric 'first arranged the Series as a set' – producing an initial draft of the whole, perhaps? – between the second half of 989 and sometime in 991.⁴⁷ Certainly some work was likely accomplished during this time, in order to position Ælfric to complete his composition and produce Sigeric's copy of the Second Series in the year after sending him *CH I*. If the latter went to Sigeric in the first half of 991, prior to the autumn raids, the former would have been sent in the first half of 992.⁴⁸ The initial completion of *CH II* we would thus date between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992.

Pause for a moment, however, for at this point a key caveat is in order. The timetable for Ælfric's endeavours might have begun to seem remarkably clear, as the pieces of his chronology fit neatly together and Clemoes in particular pinpoints events even to the year and month. As will become increasingly apparent as we survey scholarship on the rest of Ælfric's corpus, moreover, it is striking to what degree a coherent narrative order from the data does emerge. One must underscore, however, that this edifice is more plywood than stone, a cobbling together of educated deductions that rest on assumptions that might simply be wrong. We can't say definitively that the Viking raids happened in 991 rather than 994. We can't be sure that some part of the liturgical evidence is not relevant. We can't know for certain that Sigeric died in 994 rather than 995. Understanding, then, that our table at best reflects but the leaning of the field at present, the whole we may sum up as follows:

argument but affirms more generally that the manuscript was produced 'early in the last decade of the 10c').

⁴⁶ *First Series*, p. 161; see also Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35.

⁴⁷ Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 36 n 6.

⁴⁸ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161.

Table 2 The Initial Completion of the Catholic Homilies

	<i>CH I</i>	<i>CH II</i>
989	Completion of composition and first organization of <i>CH I</i>	Between [A] <i>ca</i> July x December 989 and [B] <i>ca</i> 991 First organization of <i>CH II</i>
January – June 990 ⁴⁹	Production of MS A	
July – December 990	Revision of MS A; production of Æthelweard’s [lost] copy of <i>CH I</i> (phase β); production of Sigeric’s copy of <i>CH I</i> (phase β)	
January x June 991	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces to <i>CH I</i> (including Latin note at <i>CH I</i> .pref., apparatus for line 134); augmented Phase β copy of <i>CH I</i> sent to Æthelweard; original Phase β copy of <i>CH I</i> sent to Sigeric	
[Autumn 991	Viking raids on Cerne (associated with that on Maldon on 10 or 11 August)]	
Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992		Completion of composition and first organization of <i>CH II</i> ; production of Sigeric’s copy of <i>CH II</i>
January x June 992		Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces; <i>CH II</i> sent to Sigeric

ca 993 [after 4 June] (formerly 992): *The Elevation of Wulfsgie III*

Following *CH I* and *CH II*, the third text which Clemoes says can be dated and which thus forms a watershed point in his ‘Chronology’ is Ælfric’s *Letter for Wulfsgie* – our redating of which affects our understanding, for example, of Ælfric’s *Grammar*, *Glossary*, early work on the *Heptateuch*, and *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*. Ælfric writes the letter on behalf of and in the voice of Wulfsgie III, bishop of Sherborne, to clergy in Wulfsgie’s diocese; Clemoes thus situates the work within Wulfsgie’s

⁴⁹ Here and throughout, ‘–’ is used to indicate a period over the course of which events occurred, while ‘x’ refers to months or years between which events occurred. ‘[A] January x June 991 – [B] January x June 992’ would thus describe a year’s span that began in the first half of 991 and ended in the first half of 992.

episcopacy, which he dates to 992–1002.⁵⁰ Both these dates in the 'Chronology' are potentially confusing, inasmuch as Clemoes associates multiple events with each of them: the completion of *CH* II and the elevation of Wulfsig in 992, on the one hand, and the deaths of Wulfsig and Æthelweard and elevation of Wulfstan the Homilist as archbishop in 1002, on the other (more on which anon). The latter date for Wulfsig still stands, as his death is now placed at 8 January 1002;⁵¹ the former, however, requires revision. Keynes states: 'Wulfsig was certainly a bishop before the death of Archbishop Sigeric, on 28 October 994, so we may infer that he took office some time after 4 June in 993 (when the see was vacant), and before [Sigeric died].'⁵² In practice, moreover, Keynes appears to favour a date earlier in this period, speaking of Wulfsig's ascendancy as 'c 993' and affirming in passing that 'Wulfsig had been appointed bishop of Sherborne in 993'.⁵³ Certain works in Clemoes' block of 992–1002 may still be dated around 992 – that is, between the completion of *CH* II and the composition of the *Letter* – namely, *De temporibus anni* (perhaps) and the texts appended to the *Catholic Homilies* in MS K.⁵⁴ Given the *Letter*'s partly (not completely) rhythmical style, however, scholars concur that it should be dated early in Wulfsig's tenure – that is, between ca 993 (after 4 June) and ca 995.⁵⁵

ca 998 (formerly 1002): *The Death of Ealdorman Æthelweard; and 1002: The Elevation of Wulfstan the Homilist*

As noted above, 1002 is another key date in Clemoes' reckoning – and one that can be confusing, given that he associated three events with it: the death of Wulfsig, the death of Æthelweard, and the elevation of Wulfstan at York. As the 'Chronology' stands, Clemoes lists one block of texts for the period 992–1002 (*De temporibus anni* through *Joshua*) and another for the period 1002–5 (*Numbers* through the *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* [Fehr 2a] and *SH* I.11, with *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9] and *TH* I in the middle). Ælfric's *Letter for Wulfsig* appears early in the former, though it is not his death in 1002 on which Clemoes bases this division. Rather, it is the death of Ælfric's patron Ealdorman Æthelweard, the date of which must be revised. The last charter known to have been witnessed by Æthelweard (S895) is dated 998, and Keynes affirms that 'The consistency of [Æthelweard's] subscriptions as an ealdorman make

⁵⁰ 'Chronology', pp. 56 and 72 n. 97.

⁵¹ Keynes, 'Wulfsig', p. 72; and *Diplomas*, pp. 257–8.

⁵² 'Wulfsig', p. 61.

⁵³ See the title of Keynes, 'Wulfsig', and his study of 'Sherborne Abbey', p. 10; see also Hill, 'Reform and Resistance', p. 15 n. 1; and Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 536.

⁵⁴ That is, *Pater noster* [our 7.13], *Se læssa creda* [7.10], *Mæsse creda* [7.11], *Gebedu on Englisc* [7.7], *De penitentia* [4.4.2] and *Læwedum mannum* [4.4.4]. Clemoes affirms that the 'supplementary items [in K] are likely to have been written directly after Sigeric was sent *CH* II. The order in which they occur in K may well reflect their relative order of composition, the *Letter for Wulfsig* being the latest' (*First Series*, p. 161; see also Sisam, *Studies*, p. 168). See, however, the discussion of Clemoes' statement vis-à-vis Sisam and Blake below, regarding *De temporibus anni* in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.

⁵⁵ See Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 19; Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 191 and 193; and Clemoes, 'Supplement', pp. cxlv–cxlv.

it likely that he would have died soon after his last attestation';⁵⁶ the 'generally accepted date', therefore, is now 'ca 998'.⁵⁷ Clemoes, however, acknowledging this earlier possibility, helpfully provides an alternative schedule: *Numbers* through *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9] would now fall between ca 998 and 1002, while *TH* I, the *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, and *SH* I.11 would be dated between 1002 and 1005.⁵⁸ In this scheme, 1002 refers not to the deaths of Wulfsige or Æthelweard, but to the elevation of Wulfstan the Homilist as archbishop of York, as Ælfric addresses him as such in his *Latin Letter*.⁵⁹ Taken together, such shifts in our understanding of the period 992–1005 affects our dating of as many as seventy-five Ælfrician texts, as well as six sub-phases and eight archetypes respectively of *CH* I and II.⁶⁰

Later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 (formerly 1005): The Elevation of Ælfric as Abbot

The reason why 1005 is the next milestone for Ælfric's corpus is that it is the traditional date of Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham. Parts of Ælfric's correspondence hinge on this shift in role: as we have seen, Ælfric writes as *frater* to *archiepiscopus* in the *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*,⁶¹ dating the work between Wulfstan's move to York in 1002 and Ælfric's move to Eynsham, and providing a *terminus post quem* for his letters for Wulfstan that follow. In all, Ælfric's elevation directly affects our dating of as many as ten compositions,⁶² five sub-phases of *CH* I,⁶³ and four archetypes of *CH* II,⁶⁴ as well as some two dozen other works and further *Catholic Homilies* dissemination in the last quarter of Ælfric's career.

The evidence is as follows. The charter confirming Æthelmær's foundation of Eynsham Abbey (S911) may be dated to 1005, before Archbishop Ælfric (who served as witness) died on 16 November of that year.⁶⁵ Certain studies of the charter, however, have raised the possibility that our abbot's appointment may have been earlier. Christopher Jones, in his introduction to Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of*

⁵⁶ *Diplomas*, pp. 192 n. 139, and 206 n. 193; see also Gretsche, 'Ælfric's Sanctorale', p. 47 n. 71.

⁵⁷ Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 51 and 56; and Keynes, *Wulfsige*, p. 85 n. 81; as against earlier views, e.g., by Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 147 n. 2; and Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 145.

⁵⁸ 'Chronology', p. 72 n. 101.

⁵⁹ 'Chronology', p. 72 n. 98.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 4.

⁶¹ Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 222; see also Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 58.

⁶² The *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, *SH* I.11, *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*, the *Institutio beati Amalarii*, *De septem gradibus ecclesiasticis* (perhaps), *Isidori de sacerdotibus* (perhaps), *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis* (perhaps), the *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan*, the *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan*, and the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*. See Appendix 4.

⁶³ Phases δ^1 and δ^2 [*TH* I], ϵ^1 , ϵ^2 , and ϵ^3 (perhaps).

⁶⁴ First Recension, Archetypes 6–8, and Second Recension, Archetype 1; see 'The Dissemination of *CH* I and II' below.

⁶⁵ According to Keynes, the year of Ælfric's death is attested by version A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and an obit in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C i, fols 43–203 (additions 1070x1100, England; provenance Sherborne, s. xi², then Salisbury after ca 1075), while the precise day is given in obits in London, British Library, Cotton Nero C. ix, fols 19–21 + London, Lambeth Palace 430 (s. xi/xii [probably in or after 1093], Christ Church, Canterbury), fol. 21r; London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. xii, fols 114–56 (s. xi^{ex} or possibly xiiⁱⁿ, St Augustine's, Canterbury); and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I, p. 54 (*Diplomas*, p. 260).

Eynsham, argues that the privilege describes not a foundation, but a refoundation: a *monasterium*, he says, 'already built, staffed, and dedicated to the Saviour and All Saints ... existed at Eynsham while the land was held by Æthelmær's son-in-law'.⁶⁶ Such, he notes, fits the 'general pattern of the tenth-century reformers, who preferred, whenever possible, to revive the regular life in ancient minsters', such as the major eighth- or ninth-century establishment excavated at the site of Æthelmær's abbey.⁶⁷ Subsequent scholars have concurred. Keynes, for example, observes that:

In fact, we are told in the charter not that Æthelmær had acquired *Eynsham* from his son-in-law, but that he had acquired the *monasterium* at Eynsham from his son-in-law, which might be taken to imply that he had found there a functioning (if not necessarily a 'regular') minster. The transaction itself could have taken place as early as the mid-990s, and it follows that work at Eynsham could have started a year or two, or more, before 1005.⁶⁸

The charter might thus constitute not the launching of the process of preparing Ælfric's monastic community for service so much as its final step.⁶⁹ Jones suggests not only that the re-founding of Eynsham may have predated 1005, however, but that Ælfric's appointment may have as well. As the Old English appendix to the charter, 'seemingly dictated by Æthelmær himself', states: '[ic] wille þere beo ofer hi ealdor *þe þær nu is*' ('I wish that the leader over them there should be he who is now there').⁷⁰ Reflecting this fact, Joyce Hill agrees that 'since [the charter] is a confirmation of action previously taken, it is conceivable that the re-foundation and Ælfric's appointment could have taken place a year or two earlier than this'.⁷¹ Godden, however, cautions against assuming that the *monasterium* referred to in the charter was Ælfric's fledgling reformed community rather than the previous establishment: 'since the charter and letter seem to suggest that the monastic community was created by converting an existing minster and its clerics to monastic rule, the 1005 date may still be valid'.⁷² Similarly, even while acknowledging that Æthelmær's hand may have been felt in the abbey before 1005, Keynes by no means abandons this date. Introducing his study of the charter, he says: 'In 1005 Æthelmær ... decided to retire from public life and to live in common with the community of the monastery he had founded at Eynsham ... and, as we all know, he brought with him to Eynsham the person who had acted hitherto as mass-priest and school-master at Cerne.'⁷³ In speaking of Ælfric's elevation to his new post, therefore, it

⁶⁶ *Letter*, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁷ *Letter*, pp. 9 and 8; see also Keynes, 'Eynsham Abbey', p. 455. The charter is printed, e.g., by Salter, *Eynsham*, vol. I, pp. 18–28, with the pertinent passages on p. 20. On the extensive late-twentieth-century excavations at Eynsham Abbey which uncovered Ælfric's monastery, see Hardy, *Ælfric's Abbey*.

⁶⁸ 'King Æthelred's Charter', p. 455.

⁶⁹ 'King Æthelred's Charter' and Jones, *Letter*, p. 7.

⁷⁰ *Letter*, p. 7 n. 22 (emphasis mine); Salter, *Eynsham*, vol. I, p. 24.

⁷¹ 'Life and Works', p. 61.

⁷² 'Wulfstan and Ælfric', p. 354 n. 3.

⁷³ 'Eynsham Abbey', p. 451.

may be best to date it between his composition of the *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* and the refoundation confirmed by S911, leaning more to the latter than the former – in short, later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005.

*Perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006*⁷⁴ (formerly 1006): *The Tenure of Cenwulf*; and *Late 1006 x 1007*⁷⁵ (formerly 1006): *The Elevation of Æthelwold II*

The final texts which Clemoes lists as being dateable, and which thus serve as landmarks in Ælfric's corpus, are the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* [UK 9 / Assmann 4]. Both were written for bishops of Winchester, whose respective tenures may have ended and begun in 1006: Cenwulf and his successor, Æthelwold II. Cenwulf, whom Ælfric greets in his prologue to the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*,⁷⁶ had in Clemoes' view been bishop from 1005–6, dying (as Sisam says) 'soon after his election'.⁷⁷ Cenwulf's predecessor was a bishop named Ælfheah, who moved from Winchester to become archbishop of Canterbury. The date of Ælfheah's accession – and thus the possible beginning of Cenwulf's tenure at Winchester – is somewhat unclear. Ælfheah's predecessor at Canterbury was Archbishop Ælfric, who (as we have seen) died on 16 November 1005. Versions A and CDEF of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* date Ælfheah's elevation to the following year,⁷⁸ with a late seventeenth-century collection of the lives of English prelates being more detailed yet. Henry Wharton's *Anglia sacra* (London: Richard Chiswel, 1691), drawing 'ex Martyrologio & Obituario Ecclesiae Christi Cantuariensis' ('from the martyrologies and obituary lists of Christ Church, Canterbury') dates the ordination of 'S. Elphegi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi' ('St Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury') to 'XVI. Cal. Decembr.' – that is, 16 November, the same day as Archbishop Ælfric's death.⁷⁹ Keynes discusses the ambiguity in Wharton's description of the nature and date of Ælfheah's appointment thus:

Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* I, 54, gives 16 November for [Archbishop Ælfheah's] ordination, evidently as archbishop of Canterbury: it cannot refer to the year 984 ... when he became bishop of Winchester, since ASC MS 'A' indicates that he was consecrated then on 19 October and installed on 28 October. But given his appearance in S 912 as bishop of Winchester, it cannot refer to 1005 either, which year would of course be unlikely enough anyway. I infer, therefore, that Ælfheah was not ordained until 16 November 1006, being the first anniversary of Archbishop Ælfric's death. The interval of a year would explain the confusion in ASC MSS 'C', 'D', 'E', which give Ælfric's death and Ælfheah's succession under

⁷⁴ The tenure of Cenwulf (to whom Ælfric addressed and sent the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*) as bishop of Winchester.

⁷⁵ When Æthelwold II 'the Younger' (at whose request Ælfric wrote UK 9 / Assmann 4) succeeded Cenwulf as bishop.

⁷⁶ Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. 70.

⁷⁷ Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 56 and 72 nn. 99–100; Sisam, *Studies*, p. 171 n. 2.

⁷⁸ Nelson *et al.*, 'Ælfheah 44'.

⁷⁹ Vol. I, pp. 52 and 54.

1006; it accords with the Canterbury entries in MS 'A' that Ælfheah was consecrated archbishop in 1006, following the death of Ælfric in 1005.⁸⁰

If one gives Wharton's witness weight – acknowledging, for example, that while Wharton's testimony is late, he may have been drawing on manuscript evidence no longer extant – Keynes' reasoning thus suggests that Ælfheah's work at Canterbury (and thus perhaps Cenwulf's work at Winchester) would not have started officially until 16 November 1006. The year would be consonant with the testimony of the charters, which Cenwulf (signing 'Kenulf') witnessed as abbot of Peterborough until 1005,⁸¹ and versions CDEF of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which speak of 'Bishop Cenwulf's' passing in 1006. It was to Cenwulf that Ælfric addressed and sent the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, making Cenwulf's brief tenure – perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006 – the text's *terminus ante quem*, though Ælfric may have composed the *Vita* up to two years before.⁸² This new understanding of the *Vita* also affects our dating of *The Old English Ely Privilege*, a charter that Ælfric translated 'when he was at work on Æthelwold's Life'.⁸³

The other datable text from this period is the *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* – a text associated with Phase ε⁴ of First Series production.⁸⁴ Ælfric indicates in a prefatory note in MS Q that he wrote the sermon at the request of 'Æthelwold the Younger'.⁸⁵ This individual, also known as Æthelwold II, 'seems to have been bishop of Winchester from 1006–12, and a figure about whom very little is known'.⁸⁶ His name appears (with no date) in the *Liber vitae* of New Minster, Winchester (London, British Library, Stowe 944 [1031, New Minster, Winchester], fol. 16r); the episcopal list in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140 (Bath, s. xi/xii), fol. 115r; and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* II.77.1.⁸⁷ He also appears as witness to eleven charters, the earliest of which date to 1007.⁸⁸ Between Cenwulf's death in 1006, then, and Æthelwold's attestation of charters in 1007, we may date the start of Æthelwold's episcopacy. Further ambiguity, however, surrounds the date of Æthelwold's death. The last charters he witnessed date from 1012,⁸⁹ while the first charter witnessed by Ælfsige II, his successor at Winchester, dates from 1013, possibly before late summer.⁹⁰ In one sense, the date may not matter, as UK 9

⁸⁰ *Diplomas*, p. 262.

⁸¹ S910, S911, and S912 (Nelson *et al.*, 'Cenwulf 6').

⁸² Writing in his prologue to Cenwulf, Ælfric speaks of 'transactis ... uiginti annis' ('twenty years having passed') since the death of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester until 984 (Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. 71); Lapidge and Winterbottom thus suggest that Ælfric compiled the *Vita* between 1004 and 1006 (*Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. 70). Ælfric may well be speaking in round figures, however. See also Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 40; and Jones, who states that the *Vita* 'may be nearly contemporary' with the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* [ca 1005] ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 10).

⁸³ Pope, 'Ely Privilege', p. 111; see also McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', p. 129.

⁸⁴ See 'Phase ε⁴ (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010])' below and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 119; as well as Clayton, 'Of Mice and Men', p. 2, and Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. li.

⁸⁵ Q, p. 451, printed in Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, p. 49.

⁸⁶ Clayton, 'Of Mice and Men', at p. 1.

⁸⁷ Winterbottom, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 270; see Nelson *et al.*, 'Æthelwold 2'.

⁸⁸ S915–18, S920–3, S926, and S929–30; S915–17 are dated 1007 (Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 263, 122, and 263).

⁸⁹ S926, S929, and S930 (*Diplomas*, pp. 115, 264, and 266).

⁹⁰ Nelson *et al.*, 'Ælfsige 80'. Ælfsige witnesses as *episcopus* in S931 (Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 266).

/ Assmann 4 ‘would seem to have been written soon after Æthelwold’s installation as bishop’,⁹¹ and Clemoes suggests that Ælfric’s ‘flow of works may have ceased about 1010’ in any case.⁹² Taken as a whole, however, such evidence allows us to place Æthelwold’s tenure as bishop in the period between [A] late 1006 (perhaps after 16 November) to 1007 and [B] 1012 to 1013^{1/2} (possibly before late summer), 1013 providing an absolute limit for Ælfric’s death as well.

The Development of the Catholic Homilies

Revising these milestones in Clemoes’ understanding of Ælfric’s chronology impacts our understanding not only of his corpus at large, but the development of the *Catholic Homilies* in particular, as Ælfric continued to revise these works over the course of his career. Clemoes’ bare equation in his ‘Chronology’ of ‘989 CH I’ and ‘992 CH II’⁹³ may have been a useful shorthand, but both his and Godden’s extensive analysis in their editions make evident how woefully inadequate are such dates in relation to the actual evidence. While revision, reappropriation, and reissuing characterize Ælfric’s approach to many of his works, in no case may such methods be more in evidence than in the *Catholic Homilies*. Here we must speak not of a single point of publication, but of overlapping stages in an elaborate, unfolding process. Clemoes identifies six phases (and multiple sub-stages, in some cases) of authorial revision and reissuing of the First Series, while Godden suggests there were two main recensions (the first [and possibly both] with early and later stages of dissemination) of the Second Series as well.

We cannot be certain, it is true, that these theories are correct, either in terms of putative stages or attribution. The scholars’ approaches differ somewhat, after all: Clemoes posits more stages than Godden, while the latter is perhaps less convinced that one can spot authorial revision. Neither, moreover, can rule out the possibility that certain changes are due to other hands at work, such as ‘a transmitter in Canterbury with a particular syntactic obsession busily shifting cases after prepositions rather than the author himself’.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, their minutely detailed reconstructions of Ælfric’s editorial work still stand as our discipline’s best understanding of the *Catholic Homilies* dissemination. What is more, when one maps out both scholars’ sequencing together, one finds that they are compatible – not just with one another, but broadly with other scholarship on the rest of Ælfric’s writings as well. The details may be daunting, and they are not above challenge, but they offer us a remarkably coherent portrait of Ælfric’s endeavours – revealing, at the very least, an author and editor with remarkable powers of multitasking at work at a feverish pace.

⁹¹ Clayton, ‘Of Mice and Men’, p. 2; Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. li.

⁹² Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, p. 57; see also ‘Supplementary Introduction’, p. xxiii.

⁹³ ‘Chronology’, p. 56.

⁹⁴ I am grateful to Jonathan Wilcox for these cautions (personal correspondence, 14 June 2017).

The Development of CH I

The *Catholic Homilies* were a passion for Ælfric that occupied him, as best we can tell, from his early years of training to the end of his days. While he was a student at Winchester, between [A] the period spanning *ca* 964 and 970 and [B] *ca* 987⁹⁵ – roughly contemporary with his possible work on *Primus igitur homo* and early writings in MSS X^a and Y4⁹⁶ – Ælfric perhaps composed material that provided a foundation for his later Series.⁹⁷ In his early years as a monk at Cerne, between 987–9,⁹⁸ perhaps working at or at least aided by the library at Winchester,⁹⁹ he began working on the homilies proper – material he would continue to revisit, revise and reissue for the next twenty years. In Clemoes' view, this activity proceeded in six main phases (α–ζ), divided into fifteen or more sub-stages along the way. Even if later scholarship should view such conclusions askance, understanding Ælfric's editorial process as more fluid or haphazard, the evidence as a whole paints a stunning picture of Ælfric and his scriptorium – that is, the scribes dedicated to copying his works at Winchester, if not at Cerne.¹⁰⁰ It attests to a juggernaut

⁹⁵ That is, while Ælfric was at Winchester prior to moving to Cerne (Hill, 'Life and Works', pp. 44 and 52). Hill notes that our knowledge of when Æthelmær founded or refounded Cerne is based on a charter (S1217) dated 987, which speaks in the past tense of the 'revisionary gift to God of ... Cernel'; 'although it is not certain' when Ælfric came to Cerne, she says, 'the usual assumption is that it was round about the time when the new endowments were made' ('Life and Works', pp. 51–2).

⁹⁶ See the period between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991 in Appendix 4, noting the tentative nature of our dating of these texts.

⁹⁷ 'Given the prolific rate of composition after 987', Godden reflects, 'it seems surprising that he was not writing before then. ... [perhaps] some of his time at Winchester was spent composing Latin sermons and homilies for the monks and clerics and perhaps students, which may have provided a starting-point for the later vernacular work' (*Commentary*, p. xxxi). Joyce Hill further observes that 'If this were the case, it would go some way towards explaining why he was selected to go to Cerne. What was different about Cerne, however, was that Ælfric was able to see, more clearly than he had probably ever been able to do in Winchester, what the state of learning was both in a small community and in the secular church, and how there was little to no access to the orthodox and patristically validated exegetical teaching that he had come to take for granted in the exceptional environment of Winchester' ('Life and Works', pp. 52–3).

⁹⁸ Godden states that '[Ælfric's] CH I preface indicates that the Catholic Homilies project was conceived after he came to Cerne, and the CH II preface seems to confirm that the writing took place at Cerne' (*Commentary*, p. xxi). Clemoes, similarly, asserts that '988 seems rather early for Ælfric to have organized the set as a whole (even if he came to Cerne in 987), but no doubt he composed some of the homilies in that year: for instance, [CH I.38] was probably the result of two years' growth, preached on the first occasion without a passion and on the second occasion with one' (Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35).

⁹⁹ Gneuss notes that while 'the traditional opinion' assumes that Ælfric composed the majority of his writings at Cerne and that he remained there until his appointment to Eynsham as abbot, 'this picture is far from being secure in any respect ... There is no evidence that Ælfric remained there for [the entire] period, and it is entirely possible that after some time he returned once more to Winchester'; moreover, Gneuss continues, Ælfric's 'writings imply not only wide reading but the use of a sizeable and accessible library. The new, small abbey in Dorset can scarcely have had such a library. Library visits to Winchester, and the loan of books from Winchester, could have provided some help, [though] there is no evidence whatsoever for these' (*Ælfric of Eynsham*, p. 6). Nonetheless, as another scholar concludes: 'The only plausible explanation is that Ælfric, who was a monk of the Old Minster, Winchester, compiled his *Catholic Homilies* with the benefit of the well-attested and very substantial library at Winchester, not in a tiny parish church in Dorset' (written report, June 2018). I am grateful to my anonymous reviewer for this helpful observation.

¹⁰⁰ As my anonymous reviewer also insightfully argues: 'if [as noted above] there was no library at Cerne, *a fortiori* there was no scriptorium ... Scriptoria cannot be instantly created; scribes require long

characterized by periods of intensive activity, multiple programmes of simultaneous revision, and repeated modification of every one of the *Catholic Homilies*. Here, step by step, is how the process may have unfolded.

PHASE α (PRODUCTION: JANUARY–JUNE 990; REVISION: JULY–DECEMBER 990)

Following his initial composition of homilies between 987–9, Ælfric had the First Series copied in MS A between January and June 990,¹⁰¹ inaugurating phase α of CH I.¹⁰² A is one of four surviving complete copies of the First Series and, as with its counterparts (H, K, and Q), Ælfric's editorial activity therein was extensive. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript, earlier in the period between July and December 990,¹⁰³ Ælfric himself and authorized scribes went through A and made over a thousand corrections which 'probably or perhaps arose during composition, not during copying' and which were 'authenticated' by being incorporated into some or all later copies of CH I.¹⁰⁴ Aspects of the text which these revisions sought to address included clarity of meaning, regularization of linguistic usage, stylistic nuance, and grammatical correctness.¹⁰⁵ Five other manuscripts show 'pre- β ' readings and thus date to this period as well.¹⁰⁶ Phase α thus encompasses

periods of training. In spite of the assertions of scholars from Clemoes onwards ... that the *Catholic Homilies* were copied and disseminated from Cerne, this scenario is highly unlikely, for the simple reason that there was not a scriptorium, let alone the highly productive scriptorium implied by the multiple copies of Ælfric's works. The scriptorium from which these works were disseminated must have been Winchester, where there was a well-attested, and highly productive, scriptorium at this time' (written report, June 2018; as against, for example, Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 54). If so, references hereafter to 'Ælfric's scriptorium' would describe not scribes under Ælfric's immediate supervision at Cerne, but individuals assigned by Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester (984–1006), to reproduce Ælfric's homilies.

¹⁰¹ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; see also Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35 n. 6. As noted above, Clemoes' dating of MS A has been widely but not universally accepted.

¹⁰² Clemoes argues that MS A 'represents a stage between Ælfric's original composition of the homilies for his own use and his dispatch of a copy to the archbishop' – not the first copy itself, since A 'shows no signs of having been written at intervals over a period of time', but perhaps copied from that exemplar, 'for the scribes' many miswritings indicate that they were working from a messy text and probably their exemplar was unbound' (*First Series*, p. 66; see also pp. xxiii, 65–6, 98, and 100–1).

¹⁰³ *First Series*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁴ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 66.

¹⁰⁵ *First Series*, pp. 127–8.

¹⁰⁶ [1] MS B(c, e1, and e3) – fols 1r–11v [Ker §310.6–10], 65r–85r [§310.32–42], and 92v–97r [§310.47–8], respectively – contains early readings in CH I.1, 18, 20–21, and probably 14, as well as possibly CH I.8 and 19 from Bd1 (fols 12r–47v and 60r–64r [Ker §310.11–22 and 30–1]), though Clemoes assigns these 'perhaps, on balance' to phase β (see *First Series*, pp. 98–9, 3–4, and 100–1; for CH I.8 and 19, see pp. 102–3 and 99, as well as further below). Clemoes also notes the possibility that CH I.30–1 in f^a could be pre- β texts, but leans towards counting them with β (pp. 100 and 104) – a position supported by Godden as well (*First Series*, p. 104 n. 5; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. lvii). [2] MS Cb (pp. 76–185 [Ker §57.18–34]; see also phases β and ϵ^2 below) contains readings in CH I.13, 25–7, and 29, and probably CH I.15 from Ca (pp. 1–75 [Ker §1–17]; see also phases β and γ^1 below) in addition (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 99–101 and 10). [3] MS Da2 – to be specific, D2(a2), D2 being our sigla for Bodley 342 and a2 being Clemoes' designation for Bodley 342, fols 1r–50r [Ker §309.33–41] – only includes CH I.1 from this period (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 99, 10, and 100–1; as well as phase β below); the same is true for [4] X⁸ (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 99, 48, and 100–1; as well as phase β below). [5] MS Va, finally – to be precise, our V1a, V1b, and part of V2; Clemoes' designation 'Va' includes CCCC 421, pp. 2 and 1 [Ker §68.16]; CCCC 419, pp. 1–366 [§68.1–15]; and CCCC 421, pp. 99–208

both the initial production and revision of A and parts of other manuscripts that reflect such readings. Involving as it does all forty homilies, this phase represents one of the most active periods of Ælfric's work on the First Series.

PHASE β (JULY–DECEMBER 990 [CONTINUED] AND JANUARY–JUNE 991)

This trial run complete, Ælfric had a fresh copy produced for Sigeric, perhaps later in the period between July and December 990.¹⁰⁷ Between January and June 991, having composed his Latin and Old English Prefaces,¹⁰⁸ he sent it on its way. This copy constitutes phase β of CH I dissemination. It included additional authorial revisions not present in A: some forty readings, mostly concerning a change of case after prepositions,¹⁰⁹ in all but two of the homilies.¹¹⁰ The manuscripts that chiefly attest to this phase – Da,¹¹¹ Ea,¹¹² and F – derive from the same text: a copy ('not necessarily a direct one') of Sigeric's manuscript that likely contained the complete First Series. This exemplar also contained unauthorized changes and interpolations (which 'may have been introduced in Sigeric's own copy') in those homilies shared by the three manuscripts.¹¹³ Ten other manuscripts also incorporate homilies from phase β .¹¹⁴ Though the extant evidence makes it impossible to be certain, it may be

and 227–354 [§69.6–9 and 12–15] – reproduces as an independent text a prayer (*Uton biddan ealle* [7.16]) that concludes CH I.26 in C. MS V (our VIb, in this case) is not listed by Clemoes as a witness to CH I.26 (*First Series*, pp. xxi, 47, and 388), but a connection to this stage of the homily's development seems clear, as the passage is found nowhere else. Designations for manuscript sections for CH I are taken from Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 1–64, and differ at points from the divisions proffered by Godden for manuscripts containing CH II material (*Second Series*, pp. xxv–lxxiv). While B(e) for Clemoes and Godden is the same, for example, B(c) for Godden encompasses fol. 1r–20v [§310.1–12] (*Second Series*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii).

¹⁰⁷ That is, between the revision of MS A and the issue of Sigeric's copy (*First Series*, pp. 161 and 162 n. 4).

¹⁰⁸ The prefaces were not included in phase α (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 66; Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 29) and one envisions Ælfric writing them once Sigeric's copy was complete, just prior to sending it. Ælfric could have composed them while Sigeric's copy was being produced, however, placing them later in the last half of 990 rather than the first half of 991.

¹⁰⁹ *First Series*, p. 129.

¹¹⁰ CH I.2 and 14 being the exceptions.

¹¹¹ Clemoes' designation Da comprises Bodley 340 (our D1), fols 1r–69r and Bodley 342 (our D2), fols 1r–202v [Ker §309.1–74]. On Da2, see also phase α above.

¹¹² Fols 1r–291v [Ker §48.1–43].

¹¹³ Namely, CH I.8, 10, 16–17, and 22–3 (Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 67–8). In these manuscripts, the complete contents that witness to phase β are as follows: D contains CH I.3–10, 13, 15–17, 21–8, 33, 35–7, and 39–40 [D(a1)], CH I.18–20 [D(a2)], and CH I.38 (lines 347–51 imperfect due to the excision of the outer half of fol. 218r) [D(b1)]; E contains CH I.3–10, 13, 15–17, 21–3, and 25–7 [E(a)] and CH I.29 and 34 [E(b2)]; and F contains CH I.1, 8, 10–12, 16–17, 19–20, 22–4, 28, 33, 35 (including a unique non-Ælfrician pendant), and 39–40 (see *First Series*, pp. 9–10, 11–12, 13, 15, 68, 98, 106–7, and 123–4).

¹¹⁴ These include MSS B, C, G, O, T, X^s, F^a, F^b, f, and f^m. [1] B(d1 and d2) – fols 12r–47v and 60r–64r [Ker §310.11–22 and 30–1]; and fols 47v–60r [§310.23–9], respectively (on Bd1, see also phase ϵ^2 below) – contains four First Series homilies: CH I.10 and 13, which are 'clearly β in type', and CH I.8 and 19, which shares certain errors with the primary witnesses but lacks many others. CH I.8 and 19 belong to Bd1; CH I.10 and 13 to Bd2 (see *First Series*, pp. 3 and 103; Godden simply designates this section of the manuscript Bd [*Second Series*, p. xxxvii]). As B incorporates homilies from multiple phases, Clemoes states that its copy of CH I.8 and 19 could go either with α ('in which case we would assume that Ælfric did not retouch his text of [these homilies]') or β (in which case they would represent 'a β strain not otherwise occurring in B'); 'perhaps', he concludes, 'on balance, the second alternative is to be preferred' (*First Series*, pp. 102–3; see also pp. 3, 98, 106–7, and 123–4). [2] C(a, b, and d) – pp. 1–75,

that Ælfric's emphasis here shifts from editing to copying: if phase α was about hammering out the final initial form of the First Series, phase β may have been more about production.

One lost early branch of phase β may be the copy prepared for Ælfric's patron Æthelweard, the existence of which is attested by a Latin note at the end of the vernacular First Series preface.¹¹⁵ Whether Ælfric intended for the note to form part of the preface,¹¹⁶ it may be dated concurrently with it, placing it after the production of MS A and phase α .¹¹⁷ Godden, however, argues that both the note and the copy for Æthelweard that Ælfric presumably made thereafter likely preceded the copy for Sigeric. He states:

Someone as close to Ælfric, and as important to him, as Æthelweard is likely to have been given a copy at the outset, rather than having to wait until after the general circulation signalled by the copy to Sigeric, and we know that we received copies of items in the [*Lives of Saints*] collection before the collection was generally issued; since the note says that he 'would like to have' [*uellet habere*] 44 homilies in his set, rather than that he has had them, the note is itself likely to date from the earliest state of the First Series.¹¹⁸

76–185, and 203–90 [Ker §57.1–17, 18–34, and 41–61], respectively (on Ca, see also phases α above and γ^1 below; on Cb, see phases α above and ϵ^2 below) – contains fifteen β -phase homilies: CH I.8, 10–12, 18, 21–4, 28, 33, and 35–8, the last having been conflated with an ϵ -phase copy as well (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 5–7, 98, 103, 106–7, and 123–4). [3] G* (a, b, c, and d) – fols 4v–6v, 7r–67v, 68r–75v, 76r–103v, and 104r–169v [Ker §209.1–2, 3–20, 21–6, 27–34, and 35–53], respectively; G* indicates a quire added at the beginning of the MS (see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 17) – has seventeen homilies: four complete texts [CH I.28, 30 (lines 1–198 and 199–273 separated by a large extract from CH II.29), 32, and 40], two complete portions [CH I.34b (lines 134–279) and 36b (lines 148–291)] and numerous individual extracts [CH I.1, 10, 13, 18–21, 25–7, and 37], 'some of them adapted to their present form' (*First Series*, p. 16; see also pp. 17–18, 98, 103–4, 106–7, and 123–4; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 267, apparatus to line 55). Seventeen other β -type homilies are spread among the remaining witnesses: [4] O contains CH I.39–40 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 33, 98, 106–7, and 123–4; on O, see also phase δ^2 below). [5] Tc2 – Clemoes' designation comprises Hatton 113 (our T1), fols 115v–144v; and Hatton 114 (our T2), fols 9r–22v [Ker §331.33–8] – has CH I.3–7 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 44, 98, 106–7, and 123–4; Godden designates this portion of the manuscript Tb2 [*Second Series*, p. li]). [6] X^g includes an extract from CH I.24 – namely, 'the first part of the translation of the pericope' (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 48; see also pp. 98, 106–7, and 123–4; on X^g, see also phase α above). [7] f^a – fols 23rv, 6rv, 5rv, 24rv, 11r–16r, 28rv, 19rv, 27rv, 18rv, 22rv, and 25rv [Ker §63.4–10 (quires 3–6)] – preserves imperfect copies of CH I.30–1 and 34 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 50–1, 98, 106–7, and 123–4; Godden simply designates the manuscript as f^a [*Second Series*, pp. lvi–lviii]). [8] f^b – fols 56v and 61r [Ker §222.11–12] – includes CH I.3 and an imperfect copy of 5 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 63, 98, 106–7, and 123–4; Godden simply designates the manuscript as f^b [*Second Series*, p. lviii]). [9] f^l contains copies of CH I.3–4 (beginning and ending imperfectly, respectively; see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 63, 98, 106–7, and 123–4). And [10] f^m preserves fragments of CH I.20 and 28 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 63, 98, 106–7, and 123–4). For the textual relationship of these manuscripts, see, for example, Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 137 and 144.

¹¹⁵ Item 8.1.2.1 in 'The Ælfrician Canon' below. The note survives in MS K, associating it with Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4 of First Series dissemination – between [A] ca 993 (after 4 June) and [B] ca 998 x 1002. In the following quotation, however, Godden cogently argues that the note be dated much earlier.

¹¹⁶ Positions for and against may be found in Godden, 'Commentary', p. 7; and Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 55, respectively.

¹¹⁷ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 66; Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ *Commentary*, p. 7.

If Æthelweard did receive a copy before Sigeric, the tight time frame means that Ælfric was likely working on both concurrently in the last half of 990 and perhaps early in 991. While the note indicates that Æthelweard's copy was not yet finished, both it and Sigeric's version must have been in their final stages when Ælfric composed the prefaces, which speak of the project in the past tense: 'Quadraginta sententias', he says, 'in isto libro posuimus' ('We have placed forty treatises in this book').¹¹⁹ If Godden is correct, therefore, Ælfric may have finished the prefaces (and the Latin note), added the four supplemental homilies to Æthelweard's manuscript, sent the results first to Æthelweard and then to Sigeric and then produced additional copies of Sigeric's version, bringing phase β to an end.

PHASE γ^1 (HA-TYPE: BETWEEN [A] JANUARY X JUNE 991 AND [B] JANUARY X JUNE 992); AND γ^2 (K-TYPE: BETWEEN [A] CA 993 [AFTER 4 JUNE] AND [B] CA 998 X 1002)

In the next phase, γ , Ælfric's editorial energies gathered steam again. His work proceeded in two stages. The first occurred after Ælfric sent Sigeric his copy of *CH* I between January and June 991 and before he sent Sigeric's copy of *CH* II between January and June 992 – roughly while Ælfric was completing his composition of *CH* II (on which below) and *De temporibus anni*.¹²⁰ In the archetype of the first stage of phase γ , Ælfric had further authorial revisions entered: some 160 emendations, mostly related to grammatical matters such as cases after prepositions,¹²¹ encompassing all forty homilies. This Stage 1 'Ha-type' archetype contained a set of *CH* I but not *CH* II and served as the source of MS H¹²² – the second of the four surviving complete copies of the First Series. The original contents of this manuscript [Ha],¹²³ written at the end of the tenth century or beginning of the eleventh, were then heavily edited by a scribe of the first half of the eleventh century [this material being designated Hc].¹²⁴ As Pope notes, this interpolator inserted seventeen homilies (none from the First Series) in their correct liturgical order, made 'substantial additions' to *CH* I.16¹²⁵ and *SH* I.6, and, 'in order that the volume might not be disfigured by visible cancellations at the points of insertion ... excised some of the original leaves, erased short passages to make way for new matter, and made fresh copies

¹¹⁹ *CH* I.pref.20 (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 173).

¹²⁰ *First Series*, p. 161.

¹²¹ *First Series*, p. 131.

¹²² That is, MS H as originally written [Ha], without the near-contemporary additions at fols 236v, 239r–252v, and 254rv [Hb (Ker §220.63–6)] or the interpolations throughout from the first half of the eleventh century [Hc (see below)] (Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 20–1; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 28–30; and Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 285–91).

¹²³ Fols 5v–17v [Ker §220.2–3], 21v–33r [§220.5–6], 35r–69r [§220.8–13], 75v–95r and 96r–131r [§220.17–29], 145r–168v [§220.37–43], and 184v–235v, 237r–238v, and 236r [§220.50–62].

¹²⁴ Interpolations: Fols 1r and 4r–5v [Ker §220.1], 17v–21v [§220.4], 33r–35r [§220.7], 71v–75v [§220.15–16], 95r–96r [§220.21], 131r–145r [§220.30–6], 168v–177v [§220.44–6], 181r–184v [§220.48–9], and 253r–254r [§220.66]; plus replacements of existing text: 5v [§220.2], 21v [§220.5], 33r [§220.6], 69r [§220.13], 69r–71v [§220.14], 75v [§220.17], 95r and 96r [§220.21], 131r [§220.29], 145r–148v [§220.37], 168v [§220.43], 177v–181r [§220.47], 184v [§220.50], and 229r–231v [§220.59–60]. Godden designates both original and interpolated material simply as H (*Second Series*, pp. lxx–lxxvi). For further details on Hc, see phase ζ below as well as MS H under 'Manuscript Descriptions'.

¹²⁵ Lines 123–6 and Appendix B2; see Phase ζ below.

of whatever was thus removed at the appropriate places on added leaves'.¹²⁶ While Ha contains a full set of First Series homilies, therefore, not only are a number imperfect due to loss of leaves,¹²⁷ but a considerable amount of material has been erased and recopied by the interpolator.¹²⁸ Save for the interpolation in CH I.16 and some supplied text in CH I.17,¹²⁹ Clemoes associates all this recopied Hc material¹³⁰ with Stage 1 of phase γ: 'Since there is complete uniformity in textual type between the surviving portions of Ha and those parts which the scribe of Hc replaced when making his interpolations, we can assume that in these replacements he merely recopied the Ha scribe's work.'¹³¹ Three other manuscripts may also bear witness to this stage.¹³² Ælfric's emendations in this stage may not have been as pervasive as in phase α, but the time he devoted to the First Series while completing the Second for Sigeric is striking nonetheless.

After CH II had been sent to Sigeric, Ælfric shifted or at least expanded his focus. The years between ca 993 (after 4 June) and the period ca 998 to 1002¹³³ were a busy season in other respects, as Ælfric produced Archetypes 1–5 of the First Recension of CH II and over fifty other works, including the *Grammar*, *Glossary*, *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, *Lives of Saints*, and various Old Testament pieces. As regards the First Series, however, Ælfric's scriptorium settled down for a few years to produce copies of Stage 2 of γ: a collection containing CH I, CH II, thirteen Latin notes and 'a few minor, miscellaneous pieces useful to priests'.¹³⁴ Clemoes suggests that there were four 'K-type' archetypes of this second stage, with MS K itself – the next surviving

¹²⁶ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28.

¹²⁷ CH I.4 and 26–9.

¹²⁸ Namely, all of CH I.11 and 30, almost all of CH I.25 (lines 1–225, to *andwerdum*) and 38b (lines 169–345, to *þæt*), and portions of CH I.1, 3, 4, 10, 12, 16, 17 (supplying text 'perhaps because of some blemish or defect in the original' [Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28]), 24, 29, 31, and 38a (lines 1–168; see for example Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 387, apparatus for line 225; 519, apparatus for line 345; and 21).

¹²⁹ CH I.16.123–6 and Appendix B2, and CH I.17.1–5, for which, see Phase ζ below.

¹³⁰ The remainder being CH I.1.1–42 (to *mihhte*), 3.1–9 (to *philippus*), 4.277–84 (*gemet ... AMEN*), 10.198–204 (*ure ... AMEN*), 12.1–10 (to *mid*), 24.208–10 (*menniscum ... AMEN*), 29.296 (*[ecny]se wuldrað. AMEN* [or simply the last two letters of '[AM]EN' (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28))), 31.1–8, and 38a.161–8; see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 21, 98, 110–11, 122, 124, 125 and apparatus to pp. 178, 198, 216, 265, 275, 378, 428, 439, 512, and 519; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 27–8.

¹³¹ *First Series*, p. 105 n. 1. For the interpolations themselves, not just the material recopied by Hc, see phase ζ below.

¹³² [1] Ca – on which, see also phases α and β above – preserves a copy of CH I.14 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 6, 98, 110–11, 123–4, and 147–8). [2] f^c contains fragments of CH I.14, 17, 20, and 22 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 54–5 [by Godden], 98, 110–11, 123–4, and 148 n. 1 [by Godden]). [3] Ba – fols vi^r–x^r [Ker §310.1–4] – perhaps a witness to this stage, preserves the beginning of CH I.17. Clemoes leans slightly towards placing B(a) with the K-type archetypes (*First Series*, p. 148; see also pp. 98, 110–11, and 123–4), but Godden states that the fact that the CH II items in Ba derive from a source '[not] at all close to K ... perhaps suggests that the CH I items in Ba do not derive from a K-type codex but from a copy of CH I alone' – that is, a Ha-type archetype (*First Series*, p. 145 n. 10 [by Godden]).

¹³³ Clemoes states that 'the γ K-type codex ... can be safely regarded as the standard product of Ælfric's scriptorium, so far as homilies are concerned, during the period when he was mainly engaged in composing the *Lives of Saints* and Old Testament pieces' – that is, after his *Letter for Wulfsgie* [early in Wulfsgie's tenure between ca 993 (after 4 June) and ca 995] and before Assmann 9 (*Judith*) [perhaps the last Old Testament piece, produced between ca 998, Æthelweard's death, and 1002, Wulfstan's elevation as Archbishop of York] (*First Series*, pp. 161 and 69; and 'Chronology', pp. 56 and 53).

¹³⁴ That is, the Pater Noster, Creeds, Bidding Prayers, *De penitentia*, and *Læwedum mannum* [Ker §§15.94–6] (*First Series*, pp. 24–5, 69, and 161).

complete copy of the First Series – being the fourth.¹³⁵ While the first three consist of changes made to seven, four, and eleven homilies, respectively, the last was comprehensive, including phase γ readings in all forty homilies. Even as he repeatedly revised *CH* II and composed a panoply of other works, therefore, Ælfric by no means lost sight of the First Series.

PHASE δ^1 AND δ^2 / *TH* I (BETWEEN [A] 1002 AND [B] LATER IN THE PERIOD 1002 X 16 NOVEMBER 1005)

Between Wulfstan's promotion to archbishop in 1002 and Ælfric's move to Eynsham later in the period 1002 to 16 November 1005 – while producing, as we will see, at least Stages 1–2 of phase ε of *CH* I and Archetypes 6–8 of the First Recension of *CH* II – Ælfric may have expanded the First Series further to produce what in Clemoes' mind was the first of two *temporale* collections, pieces for Sundays and moveable non-saints feasts linked to Easter: *TH* I, involving witnesses that comprised phase δ of *CH* I.¹³⁶ According to Clemoes, this phase likewise proceeded in two stages. The first, δ^1 , is chiefly represented by MS M and includes an expanded version of *CH* I.17 – material nearly three times as long as the original homily.¹³⁷ Two other

¹³⁵ *First Series*, p. 161. These include: [1] the source of MSS J(a and b) – that is, Cleopatra B. xiii (our J1), fols 1r–58v [Ker §144] and Lambeth 489 (our J2), fols 25r–58v [§283.4–8], respectively; referred to by Godden as J, without subdivisions (*Second Series*, pp. xlii–xliii) – and Vb – CCCC 421, pp. 3–98 and 209–24 (our V2) [Ker §69.1–5 and 10–11]; referred to by Godden as V, without subdivisions (*Second Series*, p. lxxi). J(a and b) preserves copies of *CH* I.1–2, 15, 17, an extract from 18, and 36a (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 22–3, 98, 110–11, and 123–4; Godden designates the manuscript J, without subdivisions [*Second Series*, p. xliii]), while Vb contains *CH* I.22 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 47–8, 98, 110–11, and 123–4). [2] The source of MSS E(b3 and c) – fols 291v–321r and 386r–394v [Ker §48.58–64] and 321v–377r [§48.65–67]; Godden notes but does not give a designation to this section of the manuscript (*Second Series*, p. xxix) – and f^ka – fols 17 [Ker §222.1] and 20–1 [§222.6]. Referred to by Godden as f^k , without subdivisions (*Second Series*, p. lviii). E(b3 and c) includes *CH* I.1, 11, and an extract from 31 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 98, 110–11, and 123–4), while f^ka includes imperfect copies of *CH* I.26b and 31 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 62, 98, 110–11, and 123–4). [3] MS L(b, d, and e) – fols 29r–36v [Ker §18.3–4], 53r–60v [§18.6–7], and 61r–227v [§18.9–44] – contains *CH* I.2–5, 26b ('without its introductory lines'), 27a, 29, 31, and extracts of 32, 37, and 38b (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 27–8, 98, 110–11, and 123–4). Finally, [4] MS K itself contains a full First Series set with prefaces, with *CH* I.30, 35, and 40 being imperfect (see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 24–5, 98, 110–11, and 123–4).

¹³⁶ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 72; see also Teresi, 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 294. In forming *TH* I, Clemoes says, Ælfric 'used a γ -type text of the *CH* I items he included, except that he augmented [*CH* I.17]; that he may have retouched the *CH* II items he included [Godden likewise attests to 'substantial revision of detail by Ælfric in virtually all homilies between K and M [phases γ and δ^1] (*First Series*, p. 77 n. 3; see also below)]; that he used an existing text of [LS 11 and 12 (Skeat I.12 and 13)] and of [SH I.4]; and that he provided some new compositions' – namely *SH* I.7–10 and 12 (phase δ^1); *SH* I.6.209–91 [*Erat quidam languens Lazarus* II (UK 3)] and Irvine 3, as well as a retouched version of *CH* I.20 (phase δ^1 or δ^2); *SH* I.1, a homily for the Sunday after Christmas, and a homily for the First Sunday after Epiphany, if any of these were included (phase δ^1 or δ^2); and *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [UK 6 / Napier 8 + *SH* II.19] (phase δ^2) (*First Series*, pp. 77 and 82; and 'Chronology', p. 56).

¹³⁷ Clemoes also notes an authentic addition in M at *CH* I.17.33 and authentic deletions at *CH* I.17.59 and 87 (*First Series*, p. 133). Other homilies in M are an extract of *CH* I.3; *CH* I.8, 10–12, 14–16, 18, and 21–2; and an imperfect copy of 19; most of these, however, are 'closely similar' to the text of K: in fact, aside from the addition to *CH* I.17, there are only 'four minor variations from K which involve the author' – in *CH* I.18–19 and 22 (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 69; see also p. 28). Clemoes does not assign to a phase the brief sentences from *CH* I.28 and 35 that Godden identified as forming part of M's composite homily for the Tuesday in Rogation [Ker §21.28] ('Composite Homilies', pp. 59–62, and

manuscripts also bear witness to this stage.¹³⁸ The second stage, δ^2 , is represented by MSS N and O and includes both the new version of *CH* I.17 and (in N) expanded versions of *CH* I.8 (augmented by a short passage) and 16 (enlarged by a third) as well.¹³⁹ Excluding a couple homilies in O,¹⁴⁰ δ^2 homilies generally show ‘minor changes’ and ‘small-scale retouching’ in comparison to K.¹⁴¹ Apart from the few expansions, therefore, Ælfric’s vision in this phase seems to have focused less on the details and more on the shape of the collection as a whole.

CHALLENGES TO PHASE δ / *TH* I

While the detail and scope of Clemoes’ theory has proved daunting to many who might question it, Loredana Teresi, building on concerns raised by Pope, has posed a potent challenge to his understanding of phase δ and of Ælfric’s responsibility for *TH* I. Examining those texts that he edited as *SH* I.7–10 and 12, Pope had stated that ‘The five homilies as they appear in M mark one stage in Ælfric’s progress toward a complete *Temporale*’ – namely, that designated above as δ^1 .¹⁴² At the same time, however, drawing attention to a number of scribal errors shared by M and N, he found it ‘conceivable [but] ... not probable’ that Ælfric issued two similar sets – M (δ^1) lacking the expanded version of *CH* I.16 and NO (δ^2) containing it – at different times without correcting those errors.¹⁴³ Rather, he posited that M and NO were ‘descended, though by separate intermediate steps’ from ‘a common ancestor already at some remove from Ælfric himself’.¹⁴⁴ What is more, he raised the question as to whether Ælfric was personally responsible for that ancestral compilation:

I hesitate to pronounce judgement on Clemoes’s theory that the original set implied by M and N–O was a more or less formal publication by Ælfric himself.

Second Series, p. xlvii; as against the editorial note 2 in Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 30, which accidentally lists *CH* I.36 instead of 35). The homily is not by Ælfric – Godden dates it to mid-eleventh-century Winchester (‘Composite Homilies’, pp. 57 and 65) – and M does not contain copies of *CH* I.28 and 35 against which these extracts may be compared. For the present, however, it seems reasonable to associate the extracts generally with phase δ^1 , which M otherwise represents.

¹³⁸ [1] MS Tg2 – Junius 121 (our T3), fols 148v–154v [Ker §338.33] – includes a homily edited by Fadda that incorporates an extract from *CH* I.14 (see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 45; and Fadda, ‘*De descensu Christi*’); [2] MS f⁹b – fols 21rv, 20rv, 26rv, 17r, and 29r [Ker §63.1–3] – contains imperfect copies of *CH* I.15 and 19 (*First Series*, p. 52; see also pp. 98, 113, and 123–4).

¹³⁹ Clemoes also notes an authentic addition in NO at *CH* I.20.157, which he notes could belong either to δ^1 or δ^2 (*First Series*, pp. 133 and 82; see also p. 72). Other First Series homilies in N are *CH* I.12, 15, and 20–2, as well as imperfect copies of 10–11, 14, and 17 (*First Series*, pp. 30–2; N also includes *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [UK 6 / Napier 8 + *SH* II.19]); while those in O are *CH* I.2–4, 10–12, 14, and 18–9 and imperfect copies of 17 and 20 (*First Series*, p. 33; see also pp. 98, 113, and 123–4; on O, see also phase β above).

¹⁴⁰ *CH* I.39–40, which Clemoes associates with phase β , as noted above.

¹⁴¹ *First Series*, p. 70. Clemoes later states that Ælfric’s retouching in phase δ^2 included ‘at least’ *CH* I.15 (NO) and 18 (present only in O [82]). Non-First Series new compositions that might have belonged either to phase δ^1 or δ^2 of *TH* I include *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* II [UK 3 / *SH* I.6.209–91] and Irvine 3, as well as three items that may originally have been in *TH* I: *SH* I.1, a homily for the Sunday after Christmas, and a homily for the First Sunday after Epiphany (*First Series*, p. 82).

¹⁴² *Homilies*, vol I, p. 335.

¹⁴³ *Homilies*, vol I, pp. 46–7 and 334–5.

¹⁴⁴ *Homilies*, vol I, p. 42 and 47.

It is a plausible and in many ways attractive theory. Whoever made the set would seem to have been close enough to include everything that was available in its then latest form. I do not feel able, however, to draw the line between a set somewhat casually authorized to satisfy a particular demand, and a set sent out into the world in several copies as a more or less formal publication.¹⁴⁵

In a larger sense, such a distinction between 'formally published' versus 'casually authorized' may be immaterial: as noted above, given that the surviving evidence attests to dynamic, fluid processes of composition, revision, and amalgamation both by Ælfric and others, the present study argues that texts may be considered 'Ælfrician' because of a demonstrable connection to this ultimate author, even if they are step-children at some remove. For Clemoes, however, Ælfric's involvement was such that no hair-splitting was required and, in his edition of the First Series, he addressed Pope's concerns head-on. The latter's inferences were reasonable, Clemoes said, for the evidence Pope had under consideration – the witnesses of M, N, and O to the *Supplementary Homilies*. What Pope did not have available, however, were 'full collations of all the CH I items common to M and N and O'. These, Clemoes maintained, 'make a vital difference' – enough, in his mind, to confirm both the issuing of M and NO from Ælfric's scriptorium as discrete phases (or sub-phases) of CH I dissemination and Ælfric's direct responsibility for their production. TH I, in short, was Ælfric's idea.¹⁴⁶

Teresi, however, takes up another possibility that Clemoes had rejected as implausible: 'that two people outside the author's scriptorium independently of one another used much the same items at much the same time to organize much the same series'.¹⁴⁷ She raises six arguments in support of this idea, proceeding as follows. First, she shows that if one conflates all *temporale* items from the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*, 'one obtains exactly the same type of collection, with exactly the same items in exactly the same order'; in other words, 'Anyone who had access to Ælfric's material ... would have been able to make a similar collection'.¹⁴⁸ Second, while M contains several First Series homilies that have added passages, none of its Second Series homilies do so – 'a fact', Teresi says, 'which is difficult to explain if the collection was compiled by Ælfric himself, but very easy to account for if it was the work of somebody putting the various items together as they had them'.¹⁴⁹ Third, while Ælfric had originally used CH II.23b ('Alia narratio', lines 126–98) for the Third Sunday after Pentecost, either the scribe of M or his supervisor

¹⁴⁵ *Homilies*, vol I. p. 48. Teresi states that Pope 'considered the expanded version of CH I.16 in [N] as the probable work of an interpolator and cast strong doubts on Ælfric's responsibility for the compilation of the *temporale* as a whole', but his conclusions, as seen here, may be somewhat more tentative than she suggests ('Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 295). Pope himself later affirms that M 'is descended from a temporal set that must have been sanctioned if not designed by Ælfric' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 333) and Clemoes, describing Pope's comments, says that Pope 'leaves Ælfric's ultimate responsibility for the selection an open question' (*First Series*, p. 71).

¹⁴⁶ *First Series*, pp. 71–2.

¹⁴⁷ *First Series*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁸ 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', pp. 296 and 298.

¹⁴⁹ 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 300; Godden, *Second Series*, p. lxxxvi.

moved it to the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, reflecting perhaps the fact that the text it treats (Matthew 8.23–7) is the pericope for that day; the alteration, Teresi states, further casts doubt on Ælfric's authorship of M.¹⁵⁰ Fourth, pointing to a few items for major occasions in the *temporale* that are missing from M and NO, she observes: 'If the two collections were made independently by someone other than Ælfric, the gaps could be easily explained in terms of lacunae in the material available to the compiler.'¹⁵¹ Fifth, she says that the nature of the First and Second Series show that Ælfric 'was not thinking in terms of a complete *temporale*', since he provided multiple items for selected liturgical occasions rather than striving for complete coverage of the year.¹⁵² Finally, she maintains, Ælfric's consistent habit of mixing *temporale* and *sanctorale* items in the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* 'seems to indicate that the two types of items were not "separated" in his mind, even though he always states in the rubric the liturgical destination of each piece'.¹⁵³

Combined with Pope's concerns, Teresi's arguments warrant serious consideration. The later date of MNO (s. xi^{med}, xii^l, and xi^{ex}–xiiⁱⁿ, respectively) means that we have an indirect view at best of what Ælfric's scriptorium may have been producing between 1002 and 1005. The scribal errors shared by M and N may well point to an ancestral copy at some remove from Ælfric, diminishing his direct responsibility for the collection now extant.¹⁵⁴ At the same time, for all Ælfric's concern for theological and textual quality control, he was an editor with limited time who had to make choices about what to correct, and errors did slip through. It seems plausible to say with Clemoes that Ælfric could have issued the archetypes of M (δ¹) and NO (δ²) with some of the errors that are preserved in their descendants¹⁵⁵ – and that the vision for compiling a *temporale* collection may still originally have been his. Teresi's excellent objections may not shut the door on this possibility either.

First, if multiple compilers at different locations could have recognized the value of compiling Ælfrician *temporale* material, why might not Ælfric – ever-sensitive to the needs of parishioners and peers – have done the same? As Godden, reviewing Teresi's arguments, states: 'one might legitimately wonder what Ælfric composed

¹⁵⁰ 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', pp. 300–1; see Pope, *Homilies*, vol I. p. 41, and Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxxvi–lxxvii.

¹⁵¹ 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 301.

¹⁵² 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 302.

¹⁵³ 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 303. Reviewing this summary of her argument, Teresi clarifies: 'My aim was not to show that Ælfric was not responsible for *TH I* (I considered it one possible option myself), but that the evidence in front of us was not conclusive, in my opinion, [and] that there were other alternative explanations that I personally considered more likely' (personal correspondence, 2 August 2017).

¹⁵⁴ Even so, Mary Clayton, reviewing Teresi's work, concludes: 'if a compiler was close enough to Ælfric to have access to everything in its most up-to-date form, then the distinction becomes rather tenuous' (Review of *The Old English Homily*).

¹⁵⁵ Godden, reviewing Pope's arguments, concurs: 'One can only assume that M and N go back independently to a source within Ælfric's scriptorium and that the shared readings, including errors, arose there. (This is the conclusion reached by Clemoes on the evidence of the First Series some years ago.) M and N would presumably reflect successive issues of the same collection ... [Minor improvements] could have been entered in M's archetype, perhaps by Ælfric himself while checking the first part of the manuscript for errors, before it was sent out, and never transferred back to the pattern-manuscript from which the archetype of N was subsequently copied' (*Second Series*, p. xlix).

the additional homilies for if not for the *temporale* collection that they occur in'.¹⁵⁶ If he did not have a vision for such a set between 1002 and 1005, moreover, what of the evidence that he had an even more extensive *temporale* plan after 1006? As Teresi states, 'It may also well be that Ælfric had really planned to compose a *temporale* at some point, but did not write enough homilies during his lifetime to complete it, or maybe he did so later, in what Clemoes called *TH II*'.¹⁵⁷ A comprehensive explanation of *TH I* must account for the putative *TH II* material in MSS B, H, and U as well.

Second, one may interrogate slightly further Teresi's observation (derived from Godden) that M's First Series homilies contain 'several additional passages', while its Second Series items do not.¹⁵⁸ According to the apparatus of Clemoes' edition, besides the substantial expansion of *CH I.17*, there are only three variants of a full sentence or more in First Series entries in M in what Clemoes views as *TH I* material:¹⁵⁹ some six Latin sentences at *CH I.11.110*, one Latin sentence at *CH I.12.84*, and an expanded quotation of the Latin pericope at *CH I.17.2*.¹⁶⁰ These are not additions original to M, moreover, as all three are found earlier in phase γ manuscripts.¹⁶¹ In the Second-Series *TH I* material in M,¹⁶² however, we find a long phrase at *CH II.5.248*, an expanded quotation of the Latin pericope in *CH II.6.1*, a long closing formula in *CH II.12.373*, and a significant deletion in *CH II.23b.128–30*.¹⁶³ Such changes may not constitute 'additional passages', but Godden views them as substantive nonetheless. As he states, 'The evidence of *CH II* collations in fact shows substantial revision of detail by Ælfric in virtually all homilies between K [a witness phase γ]¹⁶⁴ and M [a witness to phase δ]¹⁶⁵ – potentially supporting, in other words, Clemoes' and Godden's view that a watershed stage of authorial revision is captured in manuscripts such as M'.¹⁶⁶

Third, Teresi states that M's use of *CH II.23b* for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, when Ælfric had originally written it for the Third Sunday after Pentecost, casts further doubt on Ælfric's authorship of M. The point is well taken: looking only at Clemoes' list of 'Texts Used by Ælfric More Than Once',¹⁶⁷ one finds that Ælfric

¹⁵⁶ 'Review of *The Old English Homily*', at p. 450.

¹⁵⁷ She also notes that Clemoes 'was confident that the whole set existed in Ælfric's time' ('Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 303 n. 47; see also p. 294 n. 19; and Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 46–7).

¹⁵⁸ 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 300.

¹⁵⁹ *CH I.3*, 8, 10–12, 14–19, and 21–2.

¹⁶⁰ Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 78–83 list what for Clemoes are *TH I*'s contents; pp. 98 and 123–4 outline the manuscript witnesses to the various phases of dissemination; and on pp. 270, 278, and 313 are found the additions in question here.

¹⁶¹ MSS Eb3 and K for *CH I.11.110*, K for *CH I.12.84*, and Ja and Ba for *CH I.17.2*.

¹⁶² *CH II.4–8*, 12–16, 49, 22, and 23b (lines 126–98).

¹⁶³ Godden, *Second Series*, pp. 50, 53, 120, and 217. Various alterations also appear in *CH II.19* – a long passage not by Ælfric (*II.19.7*), two major deletions (*II.19.191–204* and *211–44*), and adapted sentences as well (*II.19.244–5* and *268–9* [*Second Series*, pp. 180, 186, 187, and 188]) – but here extracts are being used in a composite homily deemed by Godden not to be by Ælfric: see *Second Series*, p. xlv, and 'Composite Homilies'.

¹⁶⁴ And, as we will see, an early stage (Archetype 2) of the First Recension of *CH II*.

¹⁶⁵ As well as a later stage (Archetype 6) of the First Recension of *CH II*.

¹⁶⁶ Editorial comment in *First Series*, p. 77 n. 3; see also p. 124 and Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xc, xciii–xciv, and lxiii.

¹⁶⁷ 'Chronology', p. 59.

seems more likely to draw major sections from letters or homilies for unspecified occasions than to reappropriate material from one liturgical date for another. Such a tendency, however, may not mean he was immune to the practice: part of UK 8 / Assmann 3, for example, composed for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September), reappears in *De sancta uirginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis* (UK 7), a homily in H for the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August).¹⁶⁸ Granted, Ælfric's authorship for the resulting homily has been questioned, with Clemons and Pope on opposite sides of the debate;¹⁶⁹ nonetheless, as UK 8 itself treats a topic which Ælfric had previously eschewed – namely, the extra-biblical subject of Mary's origins¹⁷⁰ – the larger point remains that Ælfric could change his mind.

Fourth, regarding the gaps in the *temporale* in M and NO, it is true that these could be due to incomplete exemplars available to non-Ælfrician compilers. At the same time, Clemons does not argue that Ælfric had developed a complete set of *temporale* by TH I, but a partial collection that he went on to expand in TH II. Teresi points out, for example, that 'even imagining a most basic liturgical cycle ... one striking absence is a homily for the Third Sunday after Easter';¹⁷¹ the occasion is precisely one, however, that Ælfric fills with Assmann 6 in TH II.¹⁷²

Fifth, Teresi rightly notes that in creating the *Catholic Homilies* Ælfric had something other than a complete *temporale* in view. Not only did Ælfric clearly move on to other projects, however – linguistic works, Old Testament translations, epistolary counsel for clerics, and so on – but he consistently thought about new ways to repack and expand his homiletic offerings. It seems no great stretch to envision Ælfric, having accomplished his initial goal of producing ready-to-use sets of homilies for major occasions (and stopgap *quando uolueris* pieces), conceiving and taking up the task of providing sermons for all the Sundays in the year – whether or not (as Clemons believes) he accomplished it.¹⁷³ Similar comments might likewise apply to Teresi's sixth point about Ælfric combining *temporale* and *sanctorale* in the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*.¹⁷⁴ In short, while her arguments laudably

¹⁶⁸ UK 8 / Assmann 3, lines 505–97 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 44–8), forms part of *De sancta uirginitate* in H, fol. 184rv.

¹⁶⁹ 'Chronology', p. 57, and *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 31 and 141, respectively; see also Kezel, 'Ælfric the Benedictine', pp. 163–71.

¹⁷⁰ For Ælfric's initial refusal, see *De sancta Maria* (Godden, *Second Series*, p. 271); for a discussion of Ælfric's reconsideration, see Clayton (*Cult*, pp. 244–8 and 'Nativity') and Hill ('Gelasius').

¹⁷¹ Teresi dismisses as non-authorial the compilation *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [UK 6 / Napier 8 + SH II.19] for the occasion in N ('Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 301).

¹⁷² 'Chronology', p. 57.

¹⁷³ 'Chronology', pp. 46–7; see also Teresi, 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 303 n. 47.

¹⁷⁴ Evidence for an earlier *temporale* collection predating TH I may be found in MS F, representing phase β of First Series dissemination – two phases prior to δ / TH I. While the collection as it stands, dating from the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, has obviously seen change, incorporating as it does certain homilies not by Ælfric, it nonetheless comprises 'elements mainly from CH I and II to provide a year's preaching material exclusive of saints' days' (Clemons, *First Series*, p. 68; see also pp. 67 and 13). Who was responsible for this *temporale*, however? Clemons argues that the First Series material here, along with that in MSS Da and Ea, derive from a copy (direct or at some remove) of the phase β copy sent to Sigeric. He posits, furthermore, that the Da-archetype, which consolidates homilies from Ælfric's two annual cycles (CH I and II) into a collection for a single year, 'looks like a response' to Ælfric's concession to this end in his First Series Latin preface: 'damus licentiam, si alicui melius placet, ad unum librum ambos ordinare' ('we give permission, if anyone prefers, to

represent one of the first major challenges since Godden to a pillar of Clemoes' monumental theory of the development of Ælfric's corpus, they do not unequivocally undermine Clemoes' understanding either of *TH* I or phase δ of First Series dissemination.

PHASES δ , ϵ , AND ζ

As we look towards the last stages of the development of *CH* I, we find that the *Catholic Homilies* come again to consume the majority of Ælfric's editorial attention in the last years of his life. Nevertheless, his powers of multitasking do not forsake him: indeed, the final phases of First Series dissemination overlap to such an extent that they must be considered together. According to Clemoes, witnesses to later phases (ϵ and ζ) retain the authorial augmentations of phase δ , so that the three phases share 'about 100 minor modifications in expression or other small alterations'.¹⁷⁵ These affect almost every homily¹⁷⁶ and are due 'in part to the author and in part to his scribes'.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, Clemoes argues, the changes identified by these three phases took place over a similar period, so that δ , ϵ , and ζ 'are properly taken together'.¹⁷⁸ Chronologically, the phases overlap as follows:

Table 3 Phases δ , ϵ , and ζ of *CH* I

Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005	<i>TH</i> I	Phase δ^1 [M]	Phase ϵ^1	[Stage 1]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
		Phase δ^2 [NO]	Phase ϵ^2	[Stage 2]	
			Phase ϵ^3	[Stage 3]	Perhaps between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005; probably <i>ca</i> 1005–6
Early in the period <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)	<i>TH</i> II	Phase ζ	Phase ϵ^4	[Stage 4]	Early in the period <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)

arrange both [volumes] into one book' [*CH* I.pref.29–30 (*First Series*, pp. 173–4)]. The F-archetype, he says, was different, inasmuch as it eliminated texts for saints' days and added Ælfrician homilies for Lent that were not yet written when Sigeric received his First Series copy: *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] and 12 [Skeat I.13], *SH* I.2–4 and 6 [first version], and *UK* 4 / Assmann 5, all datable to the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998. Clemoes thus concludes that the F-archetype was compiled 'rather later, after resources of the required kind had been increased by the arrival of Ælfric's supplementary Lenten homilies' (p. 68) – that is, in or shortly after *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998, during the production of Phase γ K-type copies of *CH* I. This early *temporale* collection might thus either have been produced by those using Ælfric's works (such as at Canterbury, to which Sigeric's copy was sent and where F probably originated [see Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 463 and 465; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 69; and Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 56]) or within Ælfric's own scriptorium.

¹⁷⁵ *First Series*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁶ *CH* I.1 and 24 being the exceptions (*First Series*, p. 134 n. 1).

¹⁷⁷ *First Series*, p. 134.

¹⁷⁸ *First Series*, p. 133.

If phases δ , ϵ , and ζ share common readings and may be dated to similar periods, they also contain identifiable differences – changes made to at least sixteen homilies in phase δ , all forty in phase ϵ , and eleven homilies in phase ζ . While it's easy to get lost in the weeds when teasing out these details, the evidence reveals Ælfric's scriptorium in these years to be abuzz with overlapping strands of editorial activity arguably aimed at producing both regular and *temporale* collections – at the same time Ælfric was moving to Eynsham, sending off the majority of his Pastoral Letters, and composing a dozen or so other works as well.

PHASE ϵ^1 AND ϵ^2 (BETWEEN [A] 1002 AND [B] LATER IN THE PERIOD 1002 X
16 NOVEMBER 1005 [CONTINUED])

Phase ϵ proceeded in four stages, the last of which involved Q, the final surviving complete copy of the First Series. The manuscript offers a CH I set without prefaces, an authorially amplified version of CH I.39, and additional Ælfrician material.¹⁷⁹ This phase 'embraces all the developments which CH I underwent as a set after it had assumed the form it had in K'.¹⁸⁰ Stage 1 of this phase was written between Wulfstan's appointment at York in 1002 and Ælfric's appointment at Eynsham later in the period between 1002 and 16 November 1005, being contemporaneous with Ælfric's work on phase δ^1 of CH I and Archetypes 6–7 of the First Recension of CH II. Witnesses to this stage include MS Jc,¹⁸¹ with extracts from CH I.11 and 19 in composite homilies,¹⁸² and MS P(a and c),¹⁸³ with copies of CH I.19–20 and *Menn behofiað godre lare*, an extract from the First Series vernacular preface 'authentically adapted to form a short independent piece'.¹⁸⁴ four homilies in two manuscripts.

Stage 2 is also datable between Wulfstan's and Ælfric's appointments, but contemporary with CH I, phase δ^2 , and CH II, First Recension, Archetype 8. Witnesses include MSS B and Xⁱ, the former of which attests to a complex state of transition. In five homilies,¹⁸⁵ B agrees with K against Q, incorporating readings going back

¹⁷⁹ Namely, *Hexameron*, SH I.4, and SH I.11 (all pre-existing works here included with the CH I set), and UK 8 / Assmann 3 (composed specifically for this recension), with UK 9 / Assmann 4 (composed early in the period following late 1006 x 1007) and SH II.18 (composed between ca 998 and 1002, before phase ϵ) being 'appended' to the set (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 83 on Q's contents; pp. 84–5 on UK 8 / Assmann 3; and p. 114 on the authorial nature of the revisions to CH I.39).

¹⁸⁰ *First Series*, pp. 112 and 119.

¹⁸¹ Lambeth 489 (our J2), fols 25r–58v [Ker §283.4–8]. Designated J, without subdivisions, by Godden (*Second Series*, p. xliii).

¹⁸² Of the composite works, one is 'a general homily based mainly on [CH] I.19' but omitting portions and incorporating extracts from CH I.11, CH II.1, LS 11 [Skeat I.12], and other non-Ælfrician homilies; while the other combines material from CH II.40, LS 12 [Skeat I.13], LS 18 [Skeat I.19], and the non-Ælfrician Brotanek 2 (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 24; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. xlii). See also Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 116, 23–4, 98, 120–1, and 123–4. For analyses and transcriptions of these composite works, see Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 47–63 and 205–41.

¹⁸³ Hatton 115 (our P1), fols 1r–64v and 66r–67v [Ker §332.1–17 and 20] and 95r–139v [§332.27–33], respectively.

¹⁸⁴ CH I.pref.57–119 [Ker §332.28] (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35; see also pp. 119, 34, 98, 116, 120–1, and 123–4).

¹⁸⁵ Namely, CH I.23, 28, 30, 33, and 39 (B[e], e4 and e5]). In CH I.22 (Be1), B agrees with K against M and N (thus ostensibly containing more readings predating phases δ and ϵ), but Clemoes says that the correspondence here is 'negligible' (*First Series*, p. 115, body and n. 4). For the association of Bf and the following parts of Bd1 and Be with e², see *First Series*, p. 119.

to phase γ^2 in contrast with ϵ^4 two stages later.¹⁸⁶ On three occasions,¹⁸⁷ BKQ agree. Four other homilies reflect 'a position intermediate between K's and Q's', reflecting K at points and Q at others.¹⁸⁸ Two homilies agree with phase δ^2 manuscripts and with Q over K, representing further movement away from γ^2 .¹⁸⁹ Six other homilies, finally, show 'Q's distinctive level of author's revision', reflecting progress towards ϵ^4 .¹⁹⁰ Taken together, these readings comprise the main witness to Stage 2.¹⁹¹ In addition to B, Clemoes points to MS X^a2, noting tentative connections between X^a2 and Be1's copy of *CH* I.22 – itself connected tentatively to phase ϵ^2 .¹⁹² Even more cautiously, Clemoes speaks of X^a3, whose copy of *CH* I.14 'offers next to no evidence as to its textual type' aside from two readings 'peculiar to' Ca (phase γ^1) and O (phase δ^2), leaving 'no positive reason why we should not assume that X^a's *CH* I material is homogeneous in type' – that is, another witness to Stage 2.¹⁹³ Stage 2 thus seems to have encompassed more texts than Stage 1, with at least twenty homilies in two manuscripts associated with this stage.

PHASE ϵ^3 (PERHAPS BETWEEN [A] 1002 AND [B] LATER IN THE PERIOD 1002 X
16 NOVEMBER 1005 [CONTINUED]; PROBABLY CA 1005–6)

Stage 3, while perhaps datable to the same period as Stages 1 and 2, was probably written *ca* 1005–6, after his *Latin Letters for Wulfstan* and *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*; and roughly at the same time as Archetype 1 of the Second Recension of *CH* II; his letters to *Sigeward*, *Sigefyrth*, and *Wulfgeat*; and *De uirginitate*. Witnesses to this stage are found in MSS Cb and T(c3 and g1).¹⁹⁴ Like MS B, both capture a time of transition, incorporating readings from phases β , δ^2 , and multiple stages within ϵ . Cb's version of *CH* I.38 at points follows the portion copied in B, retaining readings from ϵ^2 ; it also contains β -readings found in Db1, leading Clemoes to suggest that

¹⁸⁶ That is, phase γ , Stage 2, and phase ϵ , Stage 4. As Clemoes does not include Bd1, Be1, or Be4 in his list and chart of stage γ MSS (*First Series*, pp. 98 and 123), he appears to view these readings simply as points of overlap between γ^2 and ϵ^2 .

¹⁸⁷ *CH* I.24, 29, and 36 (B[e1, e4, and e5]).

¹⁸⁸ The homilies are *CH* I.26–7, 31, and 34 (B[d1, e2, and f]). Bd1 comprises fols 12r–47v and 60r–64r [Ker §310.11–22 and 30–1]; Be, fols 65r–128v [§310.32–64]; and Bf, fols 129r–154v [§310.65–75]. On Bd1, see also phase β above; on Be, see phase α above. Clemoes notes that *CH* I.38 might be another example of such intermediate readings, though he associates it closer with 'Q's distinctive level of author's revision' (*First Series*, p. 115 and n. 3; see below).

¹⁸⁹ The homilies are *CH* I.2 and 15 (Be1). Be1 agrees with OQ over K at *CH* I.2, lines 33, 81, and 100 (MN not containing this homily), and with NQ over KM at *CH* I.15, line 106 (O not containing this homily); see *First Series*, pp. 115, 191–3 [apparatus], and 303 [apparatus].

¹⁹⁰ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 115. The homilies are *CH* I.6, 9, 25, 35, 38 (lines 1–168), and 40 (B[d1, e1, e2, e3, and e4]).

¹⁹¹ *First Series*, p. 115. Note that *CH* I.38 [xxxviii] is mistakenly entered as 33 [xxxiii] in the earlier description of Bd1 (*First Series*, p. 3).

¹⁹² See above and *First Series*, p. 115, body and n. 4.

¹⁹³ *First Series*, pp. 118 and 49–50. Clemoes does not ultimately include X^a3, however, in his summary list of witnesses to phase ϵ^2 (p. 119).

¹⁹⁴ For Cb (pp. 76–185 [Ker §57.18–34]), see the discussion of phases α and β above. Tc3 and Tg1 comprise Hatton 114 (our T2), fols 36v–75v [Ker §331.41–7], and Junius 121 (our T3), fols 138r–148v [§338.31–2], respectively; see *First Series*, pp. 6 and 44–5.

'conflation has to be assumed' from exemplars from both phases.¹⁹⁵ Cb's copy of *CH* I.32, moreover, agrees sometimes with K and sometimes with Q, forming an 'intermediate' stage between the two.¹⁹⁶ On three occasions, furthermore, Cb's version of the homily 'shows Q's distinctive level of authentic revision', revealing preliminary work towards ϵ^4 ,¹⁹⁷ and additional connections to ϵ^4 appear in Cb's copy of *CH* I.34.¹⁹⁸ The other witness to this stage is MS T. In Tc3, three homilies share readings with N, O, or both against Q,¹⁹⁹ harkening back to phase δ^2 .²⁰⁰ Tg1 contains a copy of *CH* I.40 that shares some errors uniquely with B while also representing an advance on that stage,²⁰¹ suggesting that it belongs to one 'immediately after B's' – that is, ϵ^3 .²⁰² Similarly, the expanded form of *CH* I.39 in Tg1 conforms more to Q than B, though it omits the vernacular prefatory extract (*Menn behofiað godre lare*) incorporated into *CH* I.39 by Q, having it appear as an independent piece (Tg3).²⁰³ Viewing Tg1's two homilies as 'homogeneous', seeing no evidence to assign Cb to another phase, and assuming that the homilies in Tc3 and Tg1 came from the same source, Clemoes assigns all of these sections to Stage 3.²⁰⁴ While this stage involved far fewer texts than Stage 2, it targeted homilies not previously addressed in phase ϵ .

PHASE ϵ^4 (CA 1006 – [1009 x 1010])²⁰⁵

Stage 4 was written early in the period beginning around 1006 and ending between 1009 and 1010, at much the same time as phase ζ of *CH* I, Archetype 2 of the Second Recension of *CH* II, and Ælfric's second *temporale* collection. Six manuscripts bear witness to this stage. First and foremost, there is MS Q, with 'certain, probable, or

¹⁹⁵ *First Series*, pp. 103, 102 n. 3, and 116.

¹⁹⁶ *First Series*, pp. 117 and 119.

¹⁹⁷ Cb shares readings with Q and Sa (another ϵ^4 manuscript) at lines 31 and 168, and with Q, Sa, and Bd1 at line 33 (*First Series*, pp. 508 and 513 [apparatus]; see also pp. 103 n. 6, 113 n. 2, and 116–17).

¹⁹⁸ Cb shares one reading with Q, Sa, and Td (another ϵ^4 manuscript) at line 197, and another with Q, Sa, and Bd1 at line 200 (*First Series*, pp. 472 [apparatus] and 113 n. 2). Despite this last connection with Bd1, Clemoes argues that Ca's copy of *CH* I.34 'differs from B' and 'represent[s] a stage in the development of the author's text ... slightly later than B's' (pp. 116–17).

¹⁹⁹ The homilies are *CH* I.10–12. At *CH* I.10 line 33, MSS NOT each have idiosyncratic but comparable variants; at line 81, NOT share a reading with B alone; and at line 203, OT agree against all other manuscripts (*First Series*, apparatus to pp. 259, 261, and 265). Similarly, OT share a unique reading at *CH* I.11 line 36 and NOT do likewise at *CH* I.12 line 132 (*First Series*, apparatus to pp. 267 and 280; see 117 n. 3).

²⁰⁰ Clemoes argues that Tc3 derives from 'a *CH* I set representing approximately B's stage of development', but not from a δ set (*First Series*, p. 117 body and n. 4).

²⁰¹ Readings unique to BT appear at lines 3, 61, and 115 (*First Series*, apparatus to pp. 524, 526, and 528; see pp. 117 and 118 n. 1); while B and Q generally 'do not differ in their level of authentic revision', however, T agrees with Q over B at lines 38 and 60 (apparatus to pp. 525–6).

²⁰² *First Series*, p. 118.

²⁰³ Tg3 comprises Junius 121 (our T3), fols 154v–157r [Ker §331.34]; Clemoes assigns the prefatory extract either to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, p. 119). On the extract, see *First Series*, pp. 45 and 117. On Tg1's relationship to Stage 3, see *First Series*, pp. 117–19.

²⁰⁴ Clemoes nearly includes *CH* I.18 in Tc4 as a Stage 3 witness as well, though the evidence for the link is 'very insecure': he suggests that 'since most of T's *CH* I material is of ϵ type, perhaps we may assume that this scrap does not differ' – but finally concludes that 'Tc4 cannot be placed within any subdivision' (*First Series* pp. 117 and 119; Tc4 comprises Hatton 114, fols 97*v [the second of the two pages numbered '97'] – 123v [Ker §331.52–6]).

²⁰⁵ That is, the period beginning around 1006 and ending between 1009 and 1010.

possible' retouching – alterations beyond those found in MS K (stage γ^2) – either by Ælfric or his scribes to twenty different homilies,²⁰⁶ as well as the incorporation into CH I.39 of an augmented form of *Menn behofiað godre lare*.²⁰⁷ MS R,²⁰⁸ second of all, contains similar revisions to three homilies,²⁰⁹ in addition to the augmented *Menn behofiað*, here again found independently.²¹⁰ Third, MS Sa²¹¹ includes post-K changes to eleven homilies,²¹² while MS T, the fourth manuscript, has Q-like revisions to eleven more.²¹³ Finally, we have MS f^e, with post-K alterations to five homilies;²¹⁴ and MS f^kc, with 'Q's distinctive level of revision' in three others.²¹⁵ All these witnesses, furthermore, may be subdivided further, with Q occurring first; R, Sa, T(b, c1, and

²⁰⁶ Namely, CH I.5–6 [these two not extant in δ], 9, 13, 23, 25–8, 30–5, and 37–40.

²⁰⁷ CH I.pref.57–119. The text has been augmented with two short additions [Ker §43.43]; see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 114 and 113.

²⁰⁸ All R items included in this phase – CH I.1–2, 6, 9, 13, 14 (extract), 15–16, 19, 21, 22 (imperfect), and 24 (imperfect beginning supplied by Parker's circle), and *Menn behofiað godre lare* [on which below] – occur in CCCC 178 (our R1), save for CH I.24, the beginning of which is found in CCCC 162 (our R2).

²⁰⁹ CH I.9, 13, and 22 [the last with readings lost in Q to damage].

²¹⁰ Text here augmented with two short additions [Ker §41.12]; see *First Series*, pp. 114–15. Clemoes suggests that the piece might belong to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, p. 119).

²¹¹ Pp. 1–261 and 279–94 [Ker §333.1–16].

²¹² CH I.25–7, 29–32, 34, and 36–8. *First Series*, pp. 114–15 and 155. While Clemoes does not include CH I.29 and 36 in his lists of retouched homilies, he notes that 'the level of authentic revision [in Sa's copies] in no way disagrees with Q's' (115; on Q, see 113–14). Sa agrees with ϵ^4 MSS over K, moreover, at a number of points: in CH I.29 lines 19 (Q [plus HL, non- ϵ^4 MSS]), 38 and 117 (Bd1 and Q), 70 (Cb and Q [plus L]), and 242 (Cb, Bd1, Q, and f^kc [plus H]); and in CH I.36 lines 7, 113, 139, 164, and 257 (f^e), 88 (Jc, Bd1, Q and Td), 148 (Td), 161 (Cb and f^e), and 244 (Cb and f^e [with non- ϵ^4 MSS DGH]).

²¹³ First, CH I.19 appears in what Clemoes calls Tb: Hatton 1–13 (our T1), fols 1r–115v [Ker §331.1–32]. CH I.19 (the only First Series item in Tb) is another text not included in Clemoes' list of homilies in Q retouched by Ælfric (*First Series*, pp. 113–14); nonetheless, he both explicitly lists Tb as a witness to stage ϵ^4 (119; see also 117) and maintains that 'the level of authentic revision in [Tb] ... agrees with Q's' (154; see also 43). In this homily, Tb shares readings with other ϵ^4 MSS over K as follows: lines 41 and 191 (QR [plus non- ϵ^4 MSS OUV]), 48 (Jc, Pa, Q, and R [plus MOUV]), 51 (Jc), 88 (Bd1), 105 and 234 (Bd1 and R), 119, 140, 159, 169, 171, 175, 216 and 219 (R), 150 (Pa, Q, and R [with UV]), 215 (Jc, Pa, Q and R [with FHMUV]), 233 (Bd1 and R [with UV]), and 234 (Bd1, Pa, and R [with FUV]). Next, CH I.9, 13, and 22 appear in Clemoes' Tc1: Hatton 114 (our T2), fols 22v–36v, 75v–97*^v [the second of the two pages numbered '97'], and 123v–140r [Ker §331.39–40, 48–51, and 57–8]. Finally, CH I.25–7, 30–1, 34, and 36 in Clemoes' Td: Hatton 114 (our T2), fols 140r–230r [Ker §331.59–75]; *First Series*, pp. 117, 154, 114–15, and 43–4. Like Sa, Td also contains CH I.36: again, while Clemoes does not list the homily as one Ælfric retouched in Q, he affirms that 'the level of authentic revision [in Td's copies] in no way disagrees with Q's' (115). Td does in fact agree with ϵ^4 MSS over K at lines 88 (Jc, Bd1, Q, and Sa) and 148 (Sa). Clemoes assigns Tg3 – the extract from the preface detached from CH I.39 – either to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, p. 119); see ϵ^3 above.

²¹⁴ CH I. 26, 28, and 35–7. All but CH I.36 incorporate readings found in Q but not K, while 36 has post-K readings in ϵ^4 MSS other than Q in lines 7, 113, 139, 164, and 257 (Sa), 161 (Cb and Sa), and 244 (Cb and Sa [with non- ϵ^4 MSS DGH]). f^e also contains parts of CH I.22, 27, and 29, but these do not appear to share readings with Q or Sa over K (*First Series*, pp. 118–19, 56–9, 400–9 [apparatus], and 418–28 [apparatus]; and Else Fausbøll, 'More Ælfric Fragments', p. 304). Even so, they might be presumed to belong to ϵ^4 as well.

²¹⁵ CH I.27, 30, and 37. The other surviving First Series homilies in f^kc – CH I.29, 34a (originally presumably lines 1–132), and 38b (originally presumably lines 169–351) – are damaged where Q's distinctive readings would be, but might be assumed to belong to ϵ^4 as well; see *First Series*, pp. 63 and 118. In the end, Clemoes suggests that the manuscript may belong either to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, pp. 118 and 119).

d), and f^e representing 'a slightly later stage'; and f^kc being indeterminate.²¹⁶ Taken together, such evidence constitutes the greatest editorial activity within phase ε, as Clemoes associates forty homilies (and part of the preface) in up to ten manuscripts with Stage 4. Ælfric may now be within a few years of his death, but he shows no signs of resting on his laurels.

PHASE ζ / TH II (CA 1006 – [1009 x 1010] [CONTINUED])

Nor is he done yet. In roughly the same period as phases ζ and ε⁴, Ælfric may have expanded his *temporale* series from forty homilies running from Christmas to the First Sunday after Pentecost (TH I) to seventy-two homilies [fifty-two now extant] spanning the liturgical year and focusing particularly on the exposition of pericopes (TH II)²¹⁷ – an intriguing pedagogical decision warranting further scholarly exploration. First Series items contained in TH II manuscripts constitute nearly all witnesses to phase ζ of CH I's development: MSS B, H, and U represent TH II, while Bc, Hc, U, and Va attest to phase ζ – Bc having no new material from the First Series itself.²¹⁸ Hc²¹⁹ includes the major expansion of CH I.16²²⁰ and freshly recopies the beginning of CH I.17;²²¹ U includes changes to eleven homilies;²²² and Va

²¹⁶ See *First Series*, p. 122. For f^e's relationship with Sa and Td, and thus Stage 2 of ε⁴, see Godden's comments in Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 157–8 and 118, as opposed to Clemoes' tentative association of f^e with 'the Q stage of ε' – that is, perhaps ε⁴ generally (p. 118).

²¹⁷ *First Series*, pp. 88–9, and 'Chronology', p. 46.

²¹⁸ 'New material' related to TH II in B includes Irvine 1–2 [Bc]; Belfour 14 [Bg], which Clemoes discusses in conjunction with TH II but fails to include in his final list 'Chronology', pp. 45 and 57; and Irvine 3 [Be5], which may be more related to TH I (for the debate on which see 'Challenges to Phase δ / TH I' above). As these do not include First Series material, they are not witnesses to phase ζ per se, though Clemoes specifically mentions Irvine 1–2 as 'miscellaneous surroundings that are typical of this heterogeneous twelfth-century collection [phase ζ]' (*First Series*, p. 85; see also pp. 3–5 and 21, and 'Chronology', p. 45). On TH II and phase ζ manuscripts, see *First Series*, pp. 84–5; 'Chronology', pp. 46–7 and 43; and Teresi, 'Making of a *Temporale* Collection', p. 294. Other new works included by Ælfric in TH II in Clemoes' view include SH I.11a, Assmann 6, SH II.13–17, Irvine 1–2, and expanded versions of SH I.7, CH II.28, and CH II.31 ('Chronology', p. 57; see also below).

²¹⁹ On Hc, see phase γ¹ above.

²²⁰ That is, the recopied lines 123–6 ('[forð]tihad ... Se apo[stol]') and addition of what Clemoes prints as Appendix B2.

²²¹ CH I.17.1–5 ('Dominica ... he'). See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 105 n. 1, 122–3, 125, and apparatus to pp. 311 and 313; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 27–8. Other material added by the interpolator includes SH I.11a, SH I.1, a compilation perhaps by Ælfric (Godden, *Second Series*, p. lxvi) for the Assumption of John the Apostle drawing on Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* ('Hieronymus ... Amen' [lines 676–814 in Marsden]), CH II.8, SH I.4, CH I.16 Appendix B2, CH II.23a, SH II.13–17, CH II.25–6, CH II.28 + SH II.26, CH II.31 + SH II.27, CH II.29, *De sancta uirginitate* [UK 7] and a passage added to SH I.6 (lines 209–91): see Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 27–30; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 21; and Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 285. Of the above interpolations, Clemoes identifies the following explicitly as new compositions for TH II: SH I.1, SH I.11a, SH II.13–17 (the last incorporating CH I.23b [lines 127 (*we wylld*) – 28 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnyss*)]), CH II.28 + SH II.26, CH II.31 + SH II.27, and possibly *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* II (the insertion of the additional passage now interpolated at SH I.6.209–91 [UK 3]) – though, as noted above, Clemoes suggests that the ancestor of the second version 'may well have been part of TH I though we lack the evidence to prove it today' ('Chronology', pp. 46, 45, and 57).

²²² CH I.15–24 and 28, the last being imperfect. U's other new TH II texts are *Modicum* [UK 5 / Assman 6], SH I.7 expanded at lines 94–161 [comprising the second version of SH I.7; see Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 337–8

includes analogous copies of four others.²²³ All told, the editorial activity in phase ζ is less extensive than in phase δ and far less so than in phase ε, encompassing eleven homilies in total. Even so, to find Ælfric continuing to work on the First Series – towards the end of his life, some two decades after he began, building on homiletic precursors written as many as forty years before – is to witness a measure of dedication and perseverance that is decidedly impressive.

Appendix 1 below takes all these developments together to summarize Clemoes' understanding of *CHI* dissemination. Even at a glance, the evidence therein reveals a number of things about Ælfric's work on the First Series. It was extensive. It touched every single homily. It revisited individual homilies again and again. It involved periods of intensive activity. It pursued multiple programmes of revision simultaneously. It continued concurrently with other authorial activity. And it spanned nearly the whole of Ælfric's career. This is the reality behind the 'Chronology's bare entry of '989 *CH I*'.

The Development of CH II

A slightly different story, though one yielding equally striking insights into Ælfric's authorial and editorial methods, awaits us in the extant evidence for *CH II*. If dating the 'composition' of the First Series is complicated by an array of authorially influenced exemplars, with the Second Series, Godden notes, analysis is problematized by the fact that only one authoritative copy (MS K) survives.²²⁴ Furthermore, he suggests that the Series may have been subject to an ongoing, fluid process of revision rather than a well-defined series of discrete steps. As he says:

For the Second Series at least it would appear that Ælfric did not have a single authoritative copy into which all revisions were entered and from which all copies for the other users were made, but made revisions to more than one exemplar and perhaps even to manuscripts intended to be sent elsewhere, so that some variations probably indicate not the stage to which a manuscript belongs but the manuscript tradition within Ælfric's scriptorium from which it derives or simply its independence of other manuscripts.²²⁵

Nevertheless, expanded forms of *CH II* homilies,²²⁶ stylistic alterations,²²⁷ and

and apparatus to 334], and *SH II*.13–16 ('Chronology', pp. 45–6; see also *First Series*, pp. 46, 98 and 122).

²²³ *CH I*.18–21, the last again being imperfect. Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 47, 98, and 122. These homilies, included in Clemoes' designation Va, fall in our V2 (CCCC 421, pp. 3–98 and 209–24).

²²⁴ *Second Series*, p. xxi. What is more, while Godden uses K as the base text for his edition, he suggests that this version of *CH II* is idiosyncratic enough that 'it should probably not be taken as the standard type of issue' (*Second Series*, p. lxiv).

²²⁵ *Second Series*, p. xxiv.

²²⁶ Namely, *CH II*.18, 19, 22, 23b, 28, and 39, the expansions in which are now printed as *SH II*.23, 24, 25, 17, 26, and 28, respectively (*Second Series*, pp. xxi), as well as *CH II*.31, the expansion of which is printed as *SH II*.27 (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 770).

²²⁷ E.g., Ælfric's use of the dative rather than accusative case after prepositions such as *þurh*.

changes in vocabulary and phrasing²²⁸ allow him to posit the following stages or 'general chronological distinctions'.²²⁹ Following the production of Sigeric's copy, which we have dated between January and June 992,²³⁰ and which may have been sent to him swiftly after the initial organization of the Series the year before,²³¹ Godden suggests that 'Ælfric must have issued several copies of the Second Series, perhaps lending a version for copying by others in some cases, and carried out piecemeal correction and revision of the Series, while working mainly on the *Grammar* and *Lives of Saints*'; these archetypes would constitute the early stages of dissemination of the First Recension.²³² Godden posits 'something like eight to ten different archetypes [of this recension] issued or lent by Ælfric': five or so comprising the early stages of the recension and three attesting to latter stages therein.²³³ While the scope and complexity of the evidence may again seem overwhelming, mapping them against Ælfric's concurrent work on the First Series and other compositions offers unprecedented clarity regarding his output, pace, and multitasking prowess.

FIRST RECENSION, ARCHETYPES 1–5 (CA 993 [AFTER 4 JUNE] – CA 998)

The early stages of the First Recension, Archetypes 1–5, all may be dated between ca 993 (after 4 June) and ca 998 – after Ælfric's *Letter for Wulfsgie* and before Æthelweard's death ca 998.²³⁴ This was the busy season in which Ælfric produced upwards of forty works, including the *Grammar*, *Glossary*, *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, and *Lives of Saints*; the period is also roughly contemporary with Ælfric's work on the four K-type archetypes of CH I phase γ^2 (between [A] ca 993 [after 4 June] and [B] ca 998 x 1002). That's no small achievement for a span of five or so years.

The first of the early stages, Archetype 1, represents one of the more complicated points of *Catholic Homilies* dissemination. This stage consists of ten manuscripts comprising the 'DEF Group' – MSS B, C, D, E, F, G, L, X^c, X^e, and F^p – sections of which may be further organized into at least two sub-groups. Archetype 1a, to begin with, is represented by F(a and b),²³⁵ C(a and d),²³⁶ X^e, G, and B(a, c, d, and e).²³⁷

²²⁸ E.g., *him eallum* rather than *him* (CH II.16.126) or *unswincfullan* instead of *swincleasan* (CH II.22.88); for these examples, see *Second Series*, p. xxii.

²²⁹ *Second Series*, p. xxiv.

²³⁰ See above and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161.

²³¹ Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992 – that is, between the time Ælfric sent the Phase- β copy of CH I and the copy of CH II to Sigeric (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161). Speaking in the plural, Ælfric states in his Latin preface to CH II that he hurried (*festinauimus*), despite the depredations of the Vikings, to translate the Series after Sigeric had received and praised CH I (pref.7–8 and 13–15 [Godden, *Second Series*, p. 1]); Godden thus concludes that Ælfric sent the Second Series to Sigeric 'as soon as it was completed' (*Second Series*, p. xciii).

²³² *Second Series*, p. xciii.

²³³ *Second Series*, pp. lxii–lxiii.

²³⁴ That is, while Ælfric was writing the *Grammar* and *Lives of Saints* (Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciii; Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 56). As Godden says elsewhere, 'The process of copying and rearrangement must have begun almost as soon as the *Catholic Homilies* were issued' (*Second Series*, p. lxii).

²³⁵ Pp. 1–108 [Ker §38.1–8], and 109–38 and 161–564 [§38.9–55], respectively. Here and hereafter, designations of manuscript sections for Second Series homilies taken from Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxv–lx.

²³⁶ Pp. 1–75 [Ker §57.1–17] and 203–90 [§57.41–61], respectively.

²³⁷ Fols vi^r–x^r [Ker §310.1–4], 1r–20v [§310.6–12], 21r–64r [§310.13–31], and 65r–128v [§310.32–64], respectively.

F contains four Second Series homilies not present in DE, CH II.8 and 12–14; some confusion exists, however, as to whether these should be assigned to Archetype 1a or 1b. In his diagram charting the relationship of DEF Group manuscripts (updated below), Godden depicts these homilies as direct descendants of X⁽²⁾, the 1a Archetype, from which X⁽¹⁾, Archetype 1b, descends; F's other Second Series homilies he associates with X⁽¹⁾.²³⁸ In his description of F, however, Godden states that CH II.8 and 12–14 'must have come either from X⁽¹⁾ too or, more probably, from a related manuscript, for they show the same early type of text as the rest of F and two of them [CH II.8 and 13] show links between F and C, another manuscript related to X⁽¹⁾'.²³⁹ While Godden does show that a number of Second Series homilies in C derive from X⁽¹⁾,²⁴⁰ these come from a different part of the manuscript, C(c and d). CH II.8 and 13 are found in Ca, a section Godden associates (with all its Second Series contents)²⁴¹ with X⁽²⁾.²⁴² Furthermore, he points out that one homily in Cd, CH II.22, stems not from X⁽¹⁾ but from 'a related manuscript' – the same term used above and which in his diagram clearly refers to X⁽²⁾.²⁴³ It seems safe, therefore, to understand CH II.8 and 12–14 in F as deriving from Archetype 1a.²⁴⁴ X^e, next of all, preserves but one homily by Ælfric: CH II.14, a text also found in Fb and Ca, but here surviving in 'a confused and corrupt version incorporating a vast number of small additions and alterations'.²⁴⁵ Godden suggests that it 'derives in the main from F, via an intervening copy' and incorporates 'readings arising from deliberate additions and substitutions by a reviser other than Ælfric'.²⁴⁶ G contains four Second Series homilies that share a common source with B,²⁴⁷ while B contains four other homilies that Godden says likewise derive from X⁽²⁾.²⁴⁸ In all, changes to sixteen Second Series homilies were made in the course of Archetype 1a.

The next sub-stage, Archetype 1b, appears to have been more extensive, as it involved alterations to at least twenty-eight homilies, as well as the addition of *De sancta Maria* and *Excusatio dictantis*. This sub-stage is represented by entries in

²³⁸ *Second Series*, pp. lxi.

²³⁹ *Second Series*, pp. xxxiii.

²⁴⁰ Namely, CH II.23, 25–6, 28, 31, and 35–8 (*Second Series*, xxxvi and xxxiv).

²⁴¹ CH II.4–6, 8, and 13–14.

²⁴² *Second Series*, pp. xxxv and lxi. Only the last four lines of CH II.4 remain at the top of fol. 1r (Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 99), having been erased and pasted over as part of Matthew Parker's 'tidying', on which, see below.

²⁴³ *Second Series*, pp. xxxvi and lxi.

²⁴⁴ Extracts of CH II.15 also appear in F, incorporated into a composite homily not by Ælfric for Easter Day (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxii and 150); given that witnesses in F are divided between Archetypes 1a and 1b, and that no comparative version of CH II.15 appears in C, the extracts may be associated generally with Archetype 1 without further precision.

²⁴⁵ *Second Series*, p. lv.

²⁴⁶ *Second Series*, pp. lv–lvi.

²⁴⁷ CH II.28–30 and 32, which appear in MS B as follows: CH II.30 in Bc, and CH II.28–9 and 32b (lines 80–225) in Bd (*Second Series*, pp. xxxviii, xli, and lxi). CH II.30 (Ker §310.11) is counted as belonging to Bc by Godden (p. xxxvii) but Bdl by Clemoes (*First Series*, p. 3).

²⁴⁸ CH II.25–6 and 31 [Ba] and CH II.24b (lines 53–253 [Be]); see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxviii, xxxix, and lxi; and Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 2–4.

sections of nine manuscripts: MSS D, C(c and d),²⁴⁹ X^c, fP, F(a and b),²⁵⁰ L(c and d),²⁵¹ Ea,²⁵² Bd,²⁵³ and G. D is obviously one of the primary manuscripts of the DEF Group. Comparing it to MS K, the witness to Archetype 2, Godden states that ‘there are no differences of substance from K which are likely to be authentic, but [D] shows many differences of detail which must go back to Ælfric’, such as the frequency of datives and accusatives with certain prepositions.²⁵⁴ D contains copies of twenty-five Second Series homilies.²⁵⁵ C, next of all, includes nine homilies that derive (via at least one intervening copy) from the second volume of D, Bodley 342.²⁵⁶ X^c, in the margin next to an account of the mission of Augustine of Canterbury, has in a twelfth-century hand ‘some details drawn mainly from’ CH II.9; Godden says that they must derive from a copy between D and X^(l), if not from D itself.²⁵⁷ fP similarly preserves but a single Second Series homily, CH II.7; it ‘shares all the variant readings common to D, Ea, and F’ and likewise derives from a copy at one remove from X^(l).²⁵⁸ F, another key member of the DEF Group, ‘agrees closely with D and Ea wherever it overlaps with either or both of them, sharing many variant readings including errors in the Second Series homilies’.²⁵⁹ For ten homilies,²⁶⁰ Godden suggests that F shares the same source (removed at least one step from X^(l)) as fP, Ea, Bd, and G.²⁶¹ L contains a copy of CH II.11 [Lc] drawn from ‘a copy intervening between E and X^(l)’; its copy of CH II.21 [Ld] ‘possibly’ or even ‘probably’ derives from the same source.²⁶² Ea, the final major member of the DEF Group, is ‘an incomplete copy of the collection found in D’, though one that stems not from D itself (‘since it lacks many of D’s variant readings’) but from a copy of X^(l) that served as an ancestor shared with F.²⁶³ It contains eleven Second Series homilies.²⁶⁴ B includes two from this stage of dissemination,²⁶⁵ as they include ‘all the variant readings common to D, Ea, and F, plus some that are otherwise found only in E and F, or only in E’, Godden concludes

²⁴⁹ Pp. 185–202 [Ker §57.35–40] and 203–90 [§57.41–61], respectively.

²⁵⁰ Pp. 1–108 [Ker §38.1–8], and 109–38 and 161–564 [§38.9–55], respectively.

²⁵¹ Fols 37r–52v [Ker §18.5] and 53r–60v [§18.6–7], respectively.

²⁵² Fols 1r–149v, 160r–217v, and 248r–291v [Ker §78.1–43].

²⁵³ Fols 2r–164r [§310.13–31].

²⁵⁴ *Second Series*, p. xxvii.

²⁵⁵ CH II.5–7, 9–11, 17–28, 31 (including *De sancta Maria*, explaining Ælfric’s reluctance to discuss the origins of Mary), and 35–40, as well as the *Excusatio dictantis*, explaining Ælfric’s omission of Thomas’ passion (*Second Series*, pp. xxv–xxvi). For *De sancta Maria*, see *Second Series*, p. 271; for the *Excusatio*, see pp. 297–8. To be precise, CH II.5–7, 9–11, and 17–18 appear in Bodley 340 (our D1), while CH II.5, 7, 19–28, 31 (with *De sancta Maria*), *Excusatio dictantis* and 35–40 appear in Bodley 342 (our D2).

²⁵⁶ CH II.35–8 [Cc] and CH II.23, 25–6, 28, and 31 (including *De sancta Maria*) [Cd] (*Second Series*, pp. xxxvi and xxxiv).

²⁵⁷ *Second Series*, p. lv.

²⁵⁸ *Second Series*, pp. lx–lxi.

²⁵⁹ *Second Series*, p. xxxiii.

²⁶⁰ CH II.19 [Fa] and CH II.4–7, 23, 25–6, 28, and 31 (including *De sancta Maria*) [Fb].

²⁶¹ *Second Series*, pp. lxi, xxxii–xxxiii, xxxix, and xli.

²⁶² *Second Series*, p. xlv.

²⁶³ *Second Series*, pp. lxi and xxviii–xxx.

²⁶⁴ CH II.4–7, 9–11, 17–18, and 23–4.

²⁶⁵ CH II.5–6 [Bd] (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 3). CH II.5b (lines 234–87) precede II.5a (lines 1–233) in this manuscript.

that they are indebted to a copy of $X^{(1)}$ used also by Ea.²⁶⁶ In G, finally, the copy of *CH* II.24 likewise agrees at one point with Ea, even as its copy of *CH* II.27b has 'one minor agreement' with D; though the connections are slight, they associate these texts too with $X^{(1)}$ – and thus Archetype 1b.²⁶⁷ Godden's diagram of these complex associations may thus be updated as follows:

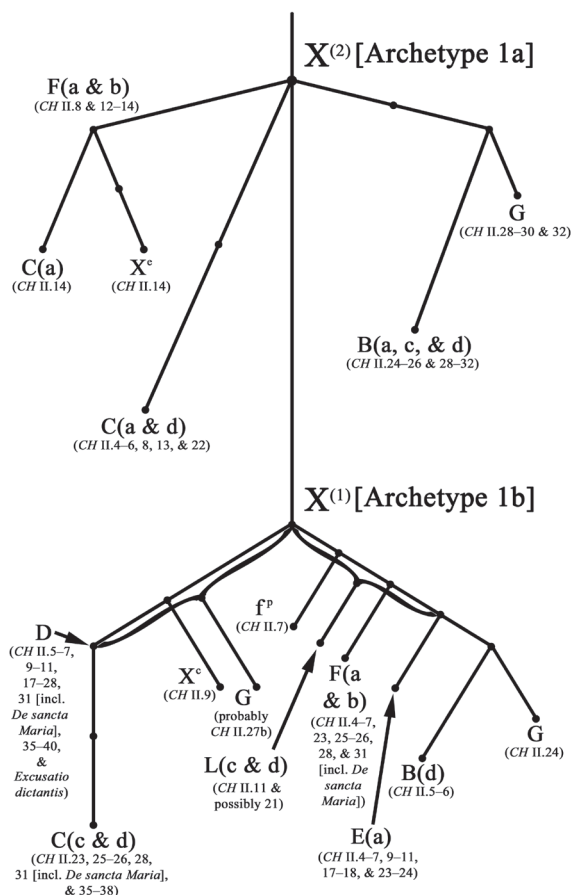


Figure 1 The Relationship of Manuscripts of the DEF Group²⁶⁸
(Archetypes 1a and 1b, First Recension of *CH* II Dissemination)

²⁶⁶ *Second Series*, p. xxxix. A copy of *CH* II.27 appears in E(b3), a section comprising fols 291v–321r [Ker §48.60–3]; Godden says that this homily 'shows no advance over K and has several minor readings in common with D, which could indicate the use of a manuscript of the tradition to which D and E(a) belong [that is, Archetype 1b above], though connections with D of a minor kind are also evident with [CH II.]29' in E(b1) (*Second Series*, p. xxxi).

²⁶⁷ The points of agreement are found at *CH* II.24.2 and 27b.190; see *Second Series*, pp. xxxix, xli, and lxi.

²⁶⁸ G [*CH* II.24 and *CH* II.28–30 and 32] go back 'to two different manuscripts of the DEF tradition' – that is, $X^{(1)}$ and $X^{(2)}$, respectively – and G [*CH* II.27b] 'probably has the same origin': a manuscript

The remaining early stages of the First Recension – still all datable between *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and *ca* 998 – are not as textually complex, as fewer witnesses to them survive. Archetype 2 is represented by MS K, which serves as the base text for Godden's edition. The manuscript contains a complete set of First and Second Series homilies, together with prefaces, the *Ammonitio* (warning against drunkenness), *De sancta Maria*, *Excusatio dictantis*, *Explicit* (formulaic close to CH II), and *Oratio* (where Ælfric reaffirms that his homilies are to educate the unlearned and exhorts future scribes to produce accurate copies).²⁶⁹ Three of these texts – the *Ammonitio*, *Explicit*, and *Oratio* – appear to have originated with this stage. In one sense, Archetype 2 was more comprehensive than its predecessor, as it involved changes to all forty Second Series homilies. Comparing K to the DEF Group [Archetype 1], however, Godden says that

Neither version is consistently more advanced than the other, each having some revisions that do not appear in the other one, though K does show a slight preponderance of revision over all. The two versions must go back to two manuscripts within Ælfric's scriptorium, each of which had received some revision independently of the other.²⁷⁰

The remaining early stages involve far fewer homilies. Archetype 3, MS L, contains six items that generally agree 'very closely with K, though not so closely as to suggest a common source outside Ælfric's scriptorium', since 'the shared readings include two minor errors but no serious corruptions'.²⁷¹ Archetype 4, surviving in MS B (e and f),²⁷² has another six homilies that agree 'fairly closely' with K and 'perhaps' reflect the same Archetype.²⁷³ MS J has two homilies which may also stem from this stage, the latter of which, Godden says, reveals 'slight agreement' with the corresponding copy in Bf.²⁷⁴ Archetype 5, MS ^fk, has a dozen Second Series homilies that 'show no authentic differences of substance from K'.²⁷⁵

of the DEF Group and, moreover, one (given CH II.27b's 'one minor agreement' with D) possibly intervening between D and X⁽¹⁾ (Godden, *Second Series*, p. xli). L(c and d) [CH II.11 and possibly 21], on the other hand, 'must draw a copy intervening between E and X⁽¹⁾' (*Second Series*, p. xlv). For Godden's original diagram, see *Second Series*, p. lxi.

²⁶⁹ For these texts, see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. 2, 271, 297–8, and 345 (the last for both the *Explicit* and *Oratio*); for analysis, see Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 345–6, 604–5, 633–4, and 669.

²⁷⁰ *Second Series*, p. xxvii.

²⁷¹ CH II.17, 27, and 32–3 [Le1 (fols 61r–120v [Ker §18.9–20])] and CH II.9 and 30 [Le2 (fols 120v–127v [Ker §18.21–44])]; L may chiefly differ from K in its authorial revisions to CH II.30 (*Second Series*, p. xlv).

²⁷² Fols 65r–128v [Ker §310.32–64] and 129r–154v [§310.65–75], respectively.

²⁷³ CH II.27 and 37–9 [Be] and CH II.4 and 40 [Bf] (*Second Series*, pp. xxxix–xl; see also Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 4).

²⁷⁴ One short extract from CH II.1 and two long extracts from CH II.40 in composite homilies. Of the composite works, one is 'a general homily based mainly on [CH] I.19' but incorporating extracts from CH I.11 [printed erroneously as 9], CH II.1, LS 11 [Skeat I.12], and other non-Ælfrician homilies; while the other combines material from CH II.40, LS 12 [Skeat I.13], LS 18 [Skeat I.19], and the non-Ælfrician Brotanek 2 (*Second Series*, p. xlii).

²⁷⁵ CH II.2, 9, 11, 17–18, 27, 32–4, 36, 38, and 40 (Godden, *Second Series*, p. lix). The manuscript preserves complete copies of CH II.17b, 18, 32, and 34; and imperfect copies of CH II.2–3, 9, 11, 17a, 27, 33, 36, 38, and 40 (Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 62–3).

At least three of these, however, contain 'a few authentic variations of detail'.²⁷⁶ With such developments, in Godden's view, the early stages of First Recension dissemination come to an end. They occurred during one of the most intense and fruitful periods of Ælfric's career, as he composed scores of new exegetical, doctrinal, and grammatical works, even as his scriptorium settled down for a few years to produce K-type copies of *CH* I phase γ^2 .

FIRST RECENSION, ARCHETYPES 6–8 (BETWEEN [A] 1002 AND [B] LATER IN THE PERIOD 1002 x 16 NOVEMBER 1005)

During Ælfric's production of *TH* I,²⁷⁷ while the scriptorium was producing phases δ^1 , δ^2 , ε^1 , ε^2 , and (perhaps but not probably) ε^3 of *CH* I between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005,²⁷⁸ Ælfric issued three further archetypes of *CH* II, comprising later versions of the First Recension.²⁷⁹ Witnesses to these archetypes include MSS M and f^a; N, O, and La;²⁸⁰ and Eb²⁸¹ and T(b2 and b4).²⁸² Archetype 6, to begin with, survives first in M. Fourteen Second Series homilies are found herein, with three appearing in amalgamations of Ælfrician or partially Ælfrician material.²⁸³ Godden concludes that in these homilies, 'M shows a consistent advance over K and D, mainly in the use of the accusative with *þurh* and other prepositions'.²⁸⁴ Two of these homilies also occur in the other witness to Archetype 6, f^a,²⁸⁵ one shows 'some slight agreement' with G of the DEF Group as well.²⁸⁶

Archetype 7 survives in three manuscripts, N, O, and L. The precise relationship

²⁷⁶ *CH* II.11, 17, and 18 (*Second Series*, pp. lviii–lix, at lix).

²⁷⁷ Godden, accepting Clemons' argument for Ælfric's involvement in compiling the *temporale* collections, points out the congruence of certain later First Recension manuscripts and Ælfric's correspondence with Wulfstan: 'If, as seems possible from their textual character and provenance, the homilies in E(b) and T(b4) derive from a copy of the [Second] Series sent to Worcester at the time when this *Temporale* collection [*TH* I] was being circulated, this would neatly coincide with the beginning of the known relationship between Ælfric and Wulfstan' – i.e., the *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* (Fehr 2a) that Clemons dates immediately after the production of *TH* I (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xciii–xciv; and Clemons, 'Chronology', p. 56).

²⁷⁸ That is, between Wulfstan's appointment at York and Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham.

²⁷⁹ *Second Series*, pp. lxii–lxiii.

²⁸⁰ Fols 2r–28v [Ker §18.1–2].

²⁸¹ Fols 150r–159v, 218r–247v, 328r–366v, 378r–385v, 291v–321r, and 386r–394v [Ker §48.44–64].

²⁸² Hatton 113, fols 115v–144v, and Hatton 114, fols 9r–36v [Ker §331.33–40]; and Hatton 114, fols 140r–230r [§331.59–75], respectively. Clemons' division of T differs somewhat, with Tb2 corresponding to Clemons' Tc2 and [§331.33–8] and part of Tc1 [§331.39–40, 48–51, and 57–8], while Tb4 corresponds to Clemons' Td (Clemons, *First Series*, p. 44; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. li–lii).

²⁸³ *CH* II.4–8, 12–6, 19 (in two composite homilies), 22 (with the first paragraph of *CH* I.18), 23b (lines 126–98), and 39 (in one of the composite homilies). The composite homilies bring together portions of [1] Pope I.11, *CH* II.19, *CH* I.18 and the *Old English Martyrology*; and [2] Napier 30, Bethurum 13, *CH* II.19, LS 11 [Skeat I.12], *CH* I.3, *CH* I.35, LS 12 [Skeat I.13], *CH* I.28, and *CH* II.39 (*Second Series*, pp. xlv–xlvii and 'Composite Homilies').

²⁸⁴ As in *CH* II.4, 6, 8, 12–15, and 22. Godden also points to 'other small revisions' in *CH* II.4, 14, and 22, as well as an additional clause in *CH* II.5 (*Second Series*, p. xlvii). The revision in *CH* II.4.293 and addition in *CH* II.5.194, both of which do not occur in N (on which below), as well as some aspect of *CH* II.6 [the accusative form at *CH* II.6.69, perhaps?], Godden later describes as 'minor improvements by the author' (*Second Series*, p. xlix; see also p. xlvii n. 2).

²⁸⁵ *CH* II.16 and 32.

²⁸⁶ *CH* II.32 (*Second Series*, p. lviii).

between M (Archetype 6) and N has been debated and is discussed above; in terms of the ten Second Series homilies in N,²⁸⁷ however, the evidence varies. One homily contains 'two small errors ... which could not easily have been corrected by anyone but the author' that appear in the DEF Group (Archetype 1) but not in K (Archetype 2) or M.²⁸⁸ Three homilies share but a few readings with M.²⁸⁹ Two others share 'frequent variant readings' with M that 'could have arisen in Ælfric's scriptorium'; each homily in N also lacks a reading present in M 'which looks like a minor improvement by the author'.²⁹⁰ Three homilies are 'very close ... with numerous shared errors' in MN.²⁹¹ One last homily, however, shows 'a distinctly more advanced form of the text than M' that is reminiscent of the later form in MS R (Archetype 4 of the Second Recension, below).²⁹² Godden concludes nonetheless that 'in view of the general character of [the NO collection] ... it seems more probable that [this homily] goes back to the same archetype as the rest of the homilies in N and O, a more up-to-date version of this homily having been substituted in that archetype, possibly on Ælfric's instructions'.²⁹³ If N reveals only partial correspondence to M, N, and O are consistently similar: all seven Second Series homilies in O²⁹⁴ 'agree closely' with their counterparts in N, sharing 'many variant readings, including errors, that are not shared by M and other manuscripts'.²⁹⁵ L, finally, while otherwise representative of earlier First Recension archetypes, preserves a form of one homily that has links to readings in MNO.²⁹⁶

Last in the First Recension is Archetype 8, found in MSS E and T. E(b1 and b2),²⁹⁷ on the one hand, contains eight Second Series homilies.²⁹⁸ Eb1 'shows a rather more advanced form of the text than either K or D [Archetypes 2 and 1], with many small revisions; most of these are changes of case after prepositions, but there are also some small improvements in [one homily]' that later show up in MS U (Archetype 3 of the Second Recension).²⁹⁹ Godden says that the one homily in Eb2 'may well have the same origin as the homilies in (Eb1), for it shows a number of minor revisions that are not in K'.³⁰⁰ Finally, T(b2 and b4)³⁰¹ contains four homilies from the Second

²⁸⁷ CH II.4–8 and 12–16.

²⁸⁸ CH II.6 (*Second Series*, p. xlix).

²⁸⁹ CH II.7–8 and 13 reveal 'just a few variants in common [to MN], mostly scribal in origin and including one definite error [CH II.8.41], but no serious corruptions' (*Second Series*, p. xlix, body and n. 3).

²⁹⁰ CH II.4–5 (*Second Series*, pp. xlviii–xlix).

²⁹¹ CH II.12 and 15–16 (*Second Series*, p. xlix).

²⁹² CH II.14 (*Second Series*, p. xlix).

²⁹³ *Second Series*, p. 357; see also pp. xlix–l.

²⁹⁴ CH II.5–8 and 13–15.

²⁹⁵ Including variants in CH II.5, 6, and 7 (*Second Series*, p. l).

²⁹⁶ CH II.13 in L(a) (*Second Series*, p. xlv).

²⁹⁷ Fols 150r–159v and 218–247v [Ker §48.44–51] and 328r–359r, 360r–366v, and 378r–385v [Ker §48.52–6], respectively.

²⁹⁸ CH II.8, 13, 15–16, and 37–9 [Eb1] and CH II.34, with Ælfric's *Excusatio dictantis* [Eb2].

²⁹⁹ CH II.16 (*Second Series*, p. xxx).

³⁰⁰ CH II.34 (*Second Series*, p. xxxi).

³⁰¹ Or Tc2 and Td using Clemoes' designation (*First Series*, p. 44). Godden's division of T differs somewhat: Tb2 – Hatton 113 (our T1), fols 115v–144v, and Hatton 114 (our T2), fols 9r–36v [Ker §331.33–40] – corresponds to Clemoes' Tc2 [§331.33–8] and part of Tc1 [§331.39–40, 48–51, and 57–8]; while Tb4 – Hatton 114, fols 140r–230r [§331.59–75] – corresponds to Clemoes' Td (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 44; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. li–lii).

Series.³⁰² While there are 'no differences of substance' between Tb4 and K, Godden does note minor differences that align Tb4 more with the DEF Group than K and some revisions of case not in D or K that lead him to associate Tb4 with 'a slightly more advanced form of the first recension than either D or K'.³⁰³ The one homily in Tb2 is more difficult to place, but certain revisions of case not found in K bring Godden to conclude that both it and Tb4 'may have the same origin'.³⁰⁴ In sum, if the extant evidence is any indication, these later versions of the First Recension reflect a renewed editorial effort on Ælfric's part: having made changes to a large number of homilies in Archetypes 1–2 and then focusing on far fewer in Archetypes 3–5, he emended up to two dozen in Archetypes 6–8. Though we cannot say for certain, it seems like – in contrast to his prolific activity during the early stages of the First Recension – Ælfric may have focused chiefly on the *Catholic Homilies* in his final days at Cerne, preparing the way for new compositional efforts (and renewed editorial work on the *Catholic Homilies*) when he took up the reins at Eynsham.

SECOND RECENSION, TH II COLLECTIONS: ARCHETYPES 2–3 (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010])

Beginning between [A] later in the period 1002 to 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1006 to 1009 or 1010 – after becoming abbot of Eynsham, but prior to assembling TH II, in other words, perhaps in tandem with his work on CH I phase ε³ and the bulk of his Pastoral Letters – Ælfric undertook a substantial revision of the Second Series, though perhaps only altering existing entries rather than adding texts to his collection.³⁰⁵ This was the Second Recension, and Ælfric packaged the results in at least two ways. Following his initial work, he issued two archetypes in his second *temporale* collection (TH II): Archetype 2, witnessed by MS Hc,³⁰⁶ and Archetype 3, attested by MS U. Both were likely produced between ca 1006 and 1009 or 1010, after Æthelwold II became bishop of Winchester and before Ælfric expanded his *Letter to Sigefyrth*.³⁰⁷ The former interpolates material, prints homiletic sections as independent texts, adds authorial expansions, and revises numerous details.³⁰⁸ The latter omits certain homilies, but otherwise also revises details and incorporates

³⁰² CH II.1 [Tb2] and CH II.9 and 17–18 [Tb4].

³⁰³ *Second Series*, p. liii.

³⁰⁴ CH II.1 (*Second Series*, p. liii). MS f⁴, containing an imperfect copy of CH II.24, Godden includes among First Recension manuscripts, but says that 'the surviving text of II.24 offers no significant readings' that might associate it with a particular archetype (*Second Series*, p. lvii).

³⁰⁵ Godden concludes that there is 'no good evidence that Ælfric added any specific homily to the Second Series [in either the First or Second Recension]', but acknowledges that 'evidence would in any case be slight, given the piecemeal survival of the late version of the Series, and the possibility should not be dismissed' (*Second Series*, p. xc).

³⁰⁶ On Hc, see phase γ¹ of First Series Dissemination above.

³⁰⁷ That is, roughly contemporary with Ælfric's production of TH II and phases ε⁴ and ζ of CH I; see above and Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciv; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 85; and Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 57.

³⁰⁸ Specifically, Hc adapts and interpolates CH II.23b (lines 126–98) into SH II.17, includes CH II.23a (lines 1–125) on its own, offers versions of CH II.28 and 31 with authorial additions (expansions now printed as SH II.26 and 27, respectively) and revises details in CH II.8, 23, 25, 26, and 28 (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and xxiii; see also pp. lxxvii, xciv, and xc). Godden also assigns CH II.29 in H(c) to the Second Recension (p. lxvi).

at least one authorial addition.³⁰⁹ The scope of this work was more focused than comprehensive: the surviving evidence reveals changes to seven homilies in Archetype 2 and but four in Archetype 3.

SECOND RECENSION, SECOND SERIES COLLECTIONS: ARCHETYPE 1 (BETWEEN [A] LATER IN THE PERIOD 1002 x 16 NOVEMBER 1005 AND [B] CA 1006 – [1009 x 1010]),³¹⁰ ARCHETYPES 4–5 (CA 1009 – CA 1010), AND ARCHETYPE 6 (DATE UNCERTAIN)

Four other archetypes Ælfric issued not as *temporale* but Second Series collections. Archetype 1, predating *TH* II,³¹¹ also represents the early stages of Second Recension dissemination: it is witnessed by MS P(a and b),³¹² which includes authorial additions and ‘much revision of case after prepositions’,³¹³ and MS G, which shows agreement with the authorial revisions in P’s version of two homilies.³¹⁴ This stage involved changes to nine homilies all told.

Archetypes 4 and 5, possibly issued between *ca* 1009 and *ca* 1010³¹⁵ and postdating *TH* II, perhaps represent later stages of dissemination at the very end of Ælfric’s life – possibly constituting, in fact, his last recorded work. Witnesses to Archetype 4 include MSS R, B, and T. R(a and b)³¹⁶ sports authorial additions to four homilies, ‘much authentic revision’ to another and extracts from two further homilies turned into independent works – *De auaritia* and *De uaniloquio neglegentium* – that ‘probably have the same history as the rest of the collection’ in R.³¹⁷ B(e and g)³¹⁸ includes a version of one homily that shares ‘a number of variant readings, including some errors and some authentic revisions’ with the copy in R, as well as an independent

³⁰⁹ U removes *CH* II.15 and 22; includes an authorial addition to *CH* II.16; revises details in *CH* II.16, 23a (omitting 23b), 25, and 26; and may have included the adapted version of *CH* II.23 (*SH* II.17), though this part of the manuscript is now lost (*Second Series*, pp. xxiii, lxxi, lxxvii, xciv, xc, and apparatus to 254; Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, p. 45, and *First Series*, p. 77 and 92–5).

³¹⁰ Here and throughout, ‘–’ is used to indicate a period over the course of which events occurred, while ‘x’ refers to months or years between which events occurred. Archetype 1 was thus produced after a point later in the period between 1002 and 16 November 1005, but before a point between around 1006 and the period between 1009 and 1010.

³¹¹ Again, between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010). Godden suggests that Ælfric carried out this substantial revision of *CH* II perhaps after becoming abbot and prior to producing *TH* II (*Second Series*, pp. xciv and xc).

³¹² Hatton 115 (our P1), fols 1r–67v [Ker §332.1–20] and 68r–94v (with Kansas, Pryce C2:2 [our P2] forming the two missing leaves after fol. 82) [§332.21–6], respectively.

³¹³ Namely, to *CH* II.19 [now *SH* II.24] and 39 [now *SH* II.28]; and to *CH* II.19–21, 35–8, and 40, respectively (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii, lxxvii, lxxviii, and lxxv).

³¹⁴ *CH* II.20–1 (*Second Series*, pp. xli and lxviii).

³¹⁵ That is, from Ælfric’s composition of *SH* II.14 until his death; see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xc, xciv, and xxiii.

³¹⁶ CCCC 178 (our R1), pp. 1–163 and CCCC 162, pp. 139–60 (our R2) [Ker §41.1–19 (the CCCC 162 selection forming §41.2–4)], and CCCC 178, pp. 164–270 [§41.20–32], respectively.

³¹⁷ [1] *CH* II.3, 7, 22 [*SH* II.25], and 28 [*SH* II.26]; [2] *CH* II.14 (including a passage from *CH* I.14 at the end); and [3] *CH* II.26 and 39, respectively (*Second Series*, pp. lxix and xxiii). *CH* II.26.108–33 is augmented by two introductory sentences to form *De auaritia*, while *CH* II.39.184–98 with a small addition at the end forms a passage on the end of the world titled *De uaniloquio neglegentium* [Ker §41.16]; both compilations may not be by Ælfric (*Second Series*, p. lxviii; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 39; see also Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 67).

³¹⁸ Fols 65r–128v [Ker §310.32–64] and 155r–170r [§310.77–84], respectively.

extract from another (*De auaritia*) that appears in the same form in R as well.³¹⁹ T(b3 and c2),³²⁰ which probably takes its copy of one homily directly from R, draws on a source shared with R for extracts from another in the composite homily Napier 55 and includes an authorial addition to a third homily perhaps from that same source as well.³²¹ In all, Ælfric seems to have made alterations to eight or nine homilies in this stage.

Archetype 5 is preserved in MS f^b, which contains portions of a few Second Series homilies: one showing 'all the various authentic additions that occur in P', including a version of *De auaritia*,³²² another which 'contained at least two of the authentic additions that occur in R's text',³²³ and a third which 'provides no significant readings' but which Godden assigns to the Second Recension along with the others.³²⁴ The changes here may be few, but they attest to Ælfric's conscientious dedication to 'improving' the *Catholic Homilies* through the whole course of his career.

One last stage remains undated: Archetype 6, surviving in MSS V and X^a. Vb³²⁵ has an authorial addition to one homily also found in P, minor revisions to three others, and parallels to P in three more,³²⁶ while X^a seems to have taken its one Second Series item from the same source on which V drew for its Second Series homilies.³²⁷ The fact that these five homilies, however, together with a half-dozen

³¹⁹ CH II.3 and CH II.26, respectively (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxix and lxix).

³²⁰ Hatton I14 (our T2), fols 36v–140r [Ker §331.41–58] and Hatton I14, fols 1r–8v [§331.82–4], respectively. Godden's designation of Tb3 corresponds to Clemones' Tc3 [§331.41–7], part of Tc1 [§331.48–51 and 57–8], and Tc4 [§331.52–6]; Tc2 has no counterpart in Clemones. Or Tc1 and Tc3 using Clemones' designations (*First Series*, p. 44).

³²¹ CH II.14, CH II.7, and CH II.18 [now SH II.23], respectively (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lix–lxx and lii–liii; see also Clemones, *First Series*, p. 44, and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 76–7). The extract of CH II.13 also found in Tc2 may perhaps be associated with this archetype by association, though Godden does not otherwise comment on its placement (*Second Series*, p. lii). Ker notes that the composite *De letania maiore* [§331.52], also in Tb3, might be compared with CH II.19 – specifically, fols 98v, line 13 – 99r, line 11 ['Se halga apostol ... fela synna fordiligað'] to II.19.275–83 ['þæt we sceolon ... gedwolan rihtinge'] – leading Clemones to speak of an 'excerpt' from CH II.19 (*First Series*, p. 44). Godden, however, does not include T in his witnesses to the homily and the two are certainly dissimilar: T, quoting the biblical Latin where Ælfric does not, perhaps derives directly from James 5.16–20, the passage which CH II.19 here likewise treats.

³²² CH II.19 includes an authorial adaptation of CH II.26.110–33 (the bulk of what elsewhere appears as *De auaritia* (Godden, *Second Series*, p. lxxiv); Pope, however, casts doubt as to whether the addition from CH II.26 is by Ælfric (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 89–90; and vol. II, p. 751).

³²³ CH II.22, which Pope collates for SH II.25 (Godden, *Second Series*, p. lxxiv; see also Pope, vol. I, pp. 90–1).

³²⁴ CH II.28 (*Second Series*, pp. lxxiv, xxiii, and lxxiii; see also pp. lix, lxxvii, lxxiv–lxxv, xc, and xciv; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 89 [where he confirms that 'Very likely ... this collection was drawn from textually late copies of Ælfric's homilies'] and vol. II, p. 754).

³²⁵ CCCC 421, pp. 3–98 and 209–24 (our V2) [Ker §69.1–5 and 10–11].

³²⁶ [1] CH II.39 [now SH II.28] also found in P; [2] CH II.35, 37, and 38; and [3] CH II.35, 37, and 39, respectively (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii and lxxi–lxxii; and Clemones, *First Series*, p. 48).

³²⁷ CH II.36 (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxii–lxxiii). One item remains uncertain: Tc3's imperfect copy of CH II.29, which forms part of additions at the end of our T3. T3(c3) contains no Second Series material save for CH II.29 and the rest of the manuscript is divided: T1(b2) and T2(b4) bear witness to the First Recension, Archetype 8, while T2(b3 and c2) bear witness to the Second Recension, Archetype 4. More precise identification will have to await further study.

fragments from the First Series,³²⁸ are the only copies of the *Catholic Homilies* for which we cannot postulate a date within at least few years is extraordinary. After all, it is not as though Ælfric wrote single drafts and let them ride. Starting as early as *ca* 964 at Winchester and continuing seemingly up to his death *ca* 1010 at Eynsham, and while producing concurrently nearly 150 other works, Ælfric continuously revised his two series in as many as thirty stages – stages that are attested to by nearly 750 witnesses.³²⁹ The painstaking reassessment above of Clemoes' and Godden's pioneering work enables us to chart the progress of Ælfric's work in remarkable detail. Even if future scholarship revises our understanding of the particulars, the portrait here captures the state of the field at present, fleshes out more vividly the pace and scope of Ælfric's activity, and moves us far beyond the 'Chronology's bare listing of '992 CH II'.

Appendices: An Overview

The history of the dissemination of the *Catholic Homilies* discussed above, including all stages and recensions posited by Clemoes and Godden, is summarized in Appendix 1 and 2 below (treating the First and Second Series, respectively). Thereafter – accepting Keynes' dating of Sigeric's death, holding arguments from the liturgical calendar loosely, situating in the latter half of 991 the Viking raids described by Ælfric, and largely reflecting Clemoes' and Godden's understanding of the homilies' history – Appendix 3 sets forth an integrated timeline for *Catholic Homilies* development. Appendix 4, moved to the end of the volume to accommodate its complex formatting, then sets this timeline in the context of Ælfric's whole career, synthesizing scholarly assessments to date to offer a comprehensive chronology of all Ælfrician works.

³²⁸ CH I.18–19 in f^b, CH I.26 in f^d, CH I.29 in f^h, CH I.1 in fⁱ, and CH I.1 in f^q; see the period *ca* 1009 – *ca* 1010 in Appendix 4.

³²⁹ That is, copies of individual homilies pertaining to the various stages; see 'Witnesses to CH I [and CH II] by Dissemination Phase' below.

Appendix 1

The Dissemination of CH I¹

Phase α (January–June 990)	• A [CH I.1–40, with CH I.1, 15, 20, and 23–4 being imperfect], • B(c [CH I.1], e¹² [CH I.18, 21, and probably 14] and e³³ [CH I.20], with d1 [CH I.8 and 19] perhaps better assigned to phase β), • C(probably a⁴ [CH I.15] and b⁵ [CH I.13, 25–7, and 29]), • D2(a2⁶ [CH I.1]), • V1b(a [CH I.26⁶]),⁷ and • X⁸ [CH I.1]
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¹ In the following appendices, ‘-’ is used to indicate a period over the course of which events occurred, while ‘x’ refers to months or years between which events occurred. ‘[A] January x June 991 – [B] January x June 992’ would thus describe a year’s span that began in the first half of 991 and ended in the first half of 992. ‘Imperfect’ indicates text lost to manuscript damage (including fragments), while ‘extract[s]’ indicates that portions of homilies have been preserved independently; extracts incorporated into new composite texts (with material either wholly or partially by Ælfric) are noted accordingly. ‘Augmented’ indicates authorial additions (and sometimes revisions) to the text, while ‘Revised’ indicates the presence of noteworthy authorial revisions; other entries assume minor revisions to contents at various phases of First Series dissemination. Similarly, ‘perhaps’ indicates a lower level of certainty than ‘possibly’ or ‘probably’. As the edges of such categories are naturally fluid, they seek more to gesture toward editorial complexities than offer hard and fast distinctions.

² On Be1, see also phase ε² below.

³ On Be3, see also phase ε⁴ below.

⁴ On Ca, see also phases β and γ¹ below.

⁵ On Cb, see also phases β, ε², ε³, and ε⁴ below.

⁶ On Da2, see also phase β below.

⁷ Not listed by Clemoes as a witness to CH I.26 (*First Series*, pp. xxi, 47, and 388), but this extract – appearing independently here as *Uton biddan ealle* [7.16] – parallels the concluding prayer otherwise found only in C’s version of CH I.26.

⁸ On X⁸, see also phase β below.

Phase β
(July–December 990 and January–
June 991)

- B(perhaps d1⁹ [CH I.8 and 19] and d2 [CH I.10 and 13]),
- C(a¹⁰ [CH I.8 and 10–12], b¹¹ [CH I.36–7 and 38 (conflated with an ε -phase copy)] and d [CH I.18, 21–4, 28, 33, and 35]),
- D1(a1 [CH I.3–10, 13, and 15–17]),
- D2(a1 [CH I.21–8, 33, 35–7, and 39–40], a2¹² [CH I.18–20], and b1 [CH I.38 (imperfect)]),
- E(a [CH I.3–10, 13, 15–17, 21–3, and 25–7] and b2 [CH I.29 and 34]), and
- F [CH I.1, 8, 10–12, 16–7, 19–20, 22–4, 28, 33, 35, and 39–40],
- G(*13 [CH I.1 (extract)], a [CH I.21 (an adaptation of two sentences following SH I.4.55),¹⁴ 20 (extracts), 25 (extract), 26 (extract), 28, 30 (with lines 1–198 and 199–273 separated by a large extract from CH II.29) and 32], b [CH I.34b (134–279)], c [CH I.36b (148–291) and 40], and d [extracts of: CH I.10 (ending imperfectly at end of MS), 13, 18, 19, 27, and 37],
- O¹⁵ [CH I.39–40],
- T1(c2¹⁶ [CH I.3–5 (ending imperfectly)]),
- T2(c2 [CH I.5 (beginning imperfectly) and 6–7]),
- X^{8/17} [CH I.24 (extract)],
- f^{a(2)}a [CH I.30–1 and 34, all imperfect],
- f^kb [CH I.3 and 5 (the latter being imperfect)],
- f^l [CH I.3–4, both imperfect], and
- f^m [CH I.20 and 28, both imperfect]

⁹ On Bdl, see also phase ε^2 below.

¹⁰ On Ca, see also phases α above and γ^1 below.

¹¹ On Cb, see also phases α above and ε^2 , ε^3 , and ε^4 below.

¹² On Da2, see also phase α above.

¹³ Quire added at the beginning of MS; see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 17.

¹⁴ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 18.

¹⁵ On O, see also phase δ^2 below.

¹⁶ Or Tc2 according to Godden (*Second Series*, p. li).

¹⁷ On X⁸, see also phase α above.

Phase γ	γ^1 [Ha-type] (between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992)	• B(a [CH I.17 (imperfect)]), • C(a¹⁸ [CH I.14]), • H(a [CH I.1–40, with CH I.4 and 26–9 imperfect due to loss of leaves and material erased and recopied by the interpolator: all of CH I.11 and 30; almost all of CH I.25 (1–225 [to <i>andverdum</i>)] and 38b (169–345 [to <i>þæt</i>]), and portions of CH I.1, 3, 4, 10, 12, 16, 17 (supplying text), 24, 29, 31 and 38a (1–168)] and c¹⁹ [the material thus replaced:²⁰ CH I.1.1–42 (to <i>mihte</i>), 3.1–9 (to <i>philippus</i>), 4.277–84 (<i>genet ... AMEN</i>), 10.198–204 (<i>ure ... AMEN</i>), 11 (all), 12.1–10 (to <i>mid</i>), 24.208–10 (<i>memiscum ... AMEN</i>), 25.1–225 (to <i>andverdum</i>), 29.296 (<i>lecnys</i>]se <i>wuldrað. AMEN</i>),²¹ 30 (all), 31.1–8, 38a.161–8, and 38b.169–345 (to <i>þæt</i>)), • f^{c(1)} [CH I.14 (fragment)], and • f^{c(2)} [CH I.17 and 20 (fragments)]
	γ^2 [K-type] (between [A] ca 993 [after 4 June] and [2] ca 998 x 1002)	Archetype 1 • J1(a [CH I.1, 17, and an extract from 18]), • J2(b [CH I.2, 15, and 36a.1–146]) and • V2(b [CH I.22]) Archetype 2 • E(b3 [CH I.1]) and c [CH I.1 and an extract from 31]) and • f^k(a [CH I.26b (originally presumably 98–295) and 31, both imperfect]) Archetype 3 • L(b [CH I.2], d [CH I.27a (1–122)] and e [CH I.3–5, 26b (98–295, with lines 98–100 revised), 29, and 31; and extracts of 32, 37, and 38b (169–351)]) Archetype 4 • K [CH I.prefaces (Latin and Old English) and 1–40, with 30, 35, and 40 being imperfect]

¹⁸ On Ca, see also phases α and β above.

¹⁹ On Hc, see phase ζ below.

²⁰ Save for CH I.16.123–6 and CH I.17.1–5, for which, see Phase ζ below.

²¹ *First Series*, p. 428, apparatus; or simply the last two letters of '[AM]EN' according to Pope (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28).

Phase δ (between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005)	δ^1	• M [CH I.3 (extract), 8, 10–12, 14–16, 17 (greatly augmented and including a short authorial addition and deletions as well), 18 (with a minor variation from K), 19 (imperfect, with two minor variations from K), 21, 22 (with a minor variation from K), and possibly extracts of 28 and 35 in a composite homily]²² • T3(g2 [a homily edited by Fadda incorporating an extract from CH I.14]), and • f^{a(2)}(b [CH I.15 and 19, both imperfect])
	δ^2	• N [CH I.8 (augmented with a short passage), 10–11 (both imperfect), 12, 14 (imperfect), 15, 16 (augmented by a third), 17 (augmented as in M, but imperfect), 20 (including a short authorial addition), and 21–2] and • O²³ [CH I.2–4, 10–12, 14, 17 (augmented as in M, but imperfect), 18–19, and 20 (imperfect)]

²² Clemoes does not assign to a phase the brief sentences from CH I.28 and 35 that Godden identified as forming part of M's composite homily for the Tuesday in Rogation [Ker §21.28] ('Composite Homilies', pp. 59–62, and *Second Series*, p. xlvii; as against Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 30 n. 2, which accidentally lists CH I.36 instead of 35). The homily is not by Ælfric – Godden dates it to mid-eleventh-century Winchester ('Composite Homilies', p. 57 and 65) – and M does not contain copies of CH I.28 and 35 against which these extracts may be compared. For the present, however, it seems reasonable to associate the extracts generally with phase δ^1 , which M otherwise represents.

²³ On O, see also phase β above.

Phase ε	Stage 1 ²⁴	• J2(c [CH I.11 (extract) and 19 (with omissions and interpolations)]) and • P1(a [CH I.19–20] and c [Menn behofiað godre lare (CH I.pref.57–119)])
	Stage 2 ²⁵	• B(d1²⁶ [CH I.31, 38a (1–168)], e1²⁷ [CH I.2, 9, 15, 22 (perhaps), 29, 39, and 40], e2 [CH I.25–7], e3²⁸ [CH I.6], e4 [CH I.23, 24, 28, 33, and 35], e5 [CH I.30 and 36], and f [CH I.34])²⁹ • C(b³⁰ [possibly³¹ CH I.38 (conflated with a β-phase copy)]), and • X'(possibly a2 [CH I.22] and perhaps a3 [an extract of CH I.14 incorporated into Morris 11])^{32,33}
	Stage 3 ³⁴	• C(b³⁵ [CH I.32]), • T2(c3 [possibly CH I.10–12]), and • T3(g1 [CH I.39 and 40] and g3 [Menn behofiað godre lare (CH I.pref.57–119)])³⁶

²⁴ Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005.

²⁵ Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005.

²⁶ On Bd1, see also phase β above.

²⁷ On Be1, see also phase α above.

²⁸ On Be3, see also phase α above.

²⁹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. X, 98, 120–1, and 123–4.

³⁰ On Cb, see also phases α and β above and ε^3 and ε^4 below.

³¹ Cb's version of CH I.38 conflates readings from phases β and ε ; the question [the equivocation of 'possibly' here] is whether the latter readings stem from ε^2 or ε^{4b} ; see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 103, 102 n. 3, and 116.

³² Morris, *Old English Homilies*, pp. 118–25.

³³ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 49, 98, 120–1, and 123–4.

³⁴ Perhaps between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005; probably ca 1005–6.

³⁵ On Cb, see also phases α , β , and ε^2 above, and ε^4 below.

³⁶ Clemoes suggests that *Menn behofiað* could belong either to ε^3 or ε^4 , but in fact it is the straightforward extract found in MS T that belongs to ε^3 and the augmented version found in MS R that belongs to ε^4 (*First Series*, p. 119; see also pp. 37, 98, 120–1, and 123–4).

Phase ε (continued)	Stage 4 (early in the period ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010])	
	4a	Q [CH I.2–20 and 22–40, with CH I.20, 22, and 29–30 being imperfect, and 30 augmented with an augmented form of <i>Menn behofiað godre lare</i> (CH I.pref.57–119)]³⁷
	4b	- C(b³⁸ [possibly CH I.34 and possibly 38³⁹ (conflated with a β-phase copy)]), - R1 [CH I.1–2, 6, 9, 13, 14 (extract), 15–16, 19, 21, 22 (imperfect), and 24 (imperfect beginning supplied by Parker’s circle); and the augmented <i>Menn behofiað godre lare</i> (CH I.pref.57–119), here found independently],⁴⁰ - R2 [CH I.24 (imperfect ending)], - S(a [CH I.25–7, 29–32, 34, and 36–8]), - T1(b [CH I.19]), - T2(c1 [CH I.9, 13, 14 (extract), 15, 16 (authentically expanded as in N [δ^2]), and 21–2], c4 [an excerpt from CH I.18, possibly altered and expanded by Wulfstan, incorporated into Bazire and Cross 8],⁴¹ and d [CH I.25–7, 30–1, 34, and 36]), - T3(g3 [perhaps extract from the preface detached from CH I.39]),⁴² and - possibly f^c [CH I.22 (perhaps), 26, 27 (perhaps), 28, 29 (perhaps), and 35–7, all imperfect]⁴³
	Indeterminate	possibly f^k(c [CH I.27, perhaps 29, 30, perhaps 34a (originally presumably 1–132), 37, and perhaps 38b (originally presumably 169–351), all imperfect])

³⁷ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 37, 98, 120–1, and 123–4.

³⁸ On Cb, see also phases α , β , ε^2 , and ε^3 above.

³⁹ Cb’s version of CH I.38 conflates readings from phases β and ε ; the question [the equivocation of possibly’ here] is whether the latter readings stem from ε^2 or ε^{4b} ; see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 103, 102 n. 3, and 116.

⁴⁰ Clemoes suggests that *Menn behofiað* could belong either to ε^3 or ε^4 , but in fact it is the straightforward extract found in MS T that belongs to ε^3 and the augmented version found in MS R that belongs to ε^4 (*First Series*, p. 119; see also pp. 37, 98, 120–1, and 123–4).

⁴¹ Bazire and Cross, *Rogationtide Homilies*, pp. 109–13. On Wulfstan’s possible influence, see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 44 (including n. 3); Godden, *Second Series*, pp. 363–4; and Bazire and Cross, *Rogationtide Homilies*, p. 105. On the association of this text with ε^{4b} , see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 156 and 122.

⁴² Clemoes assigns the extract either to ε^3 or ε^4 (*First Series*, p. 119).

⁴³ On f^c’s relationship to Sa and thus phase ε^{4b} , see Godden’s notes in Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 157–8 (in square brackets). On f^c’s relationship to phase ε , see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 98, 120–1, and 124. (CH I.22 should be added to the list of f^c’s contents in Table VII [*First Series*, p. 121].)

Phase ζ (early in the period ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010])	• H(c⁴⁴ [CH I.16.123–6 ('[forð]tilhð ... Se apo[stol']') and CH I.17.1–5 ('Dominica ... he') copied afresh by interpolator]),⁴⁵ • U [CH I.15–24 and 28, the last being imperfect]⁴⁶ and • V2(a [CH I.18–21, the last being imperfect])⁴⁷
Uncertain	• f^b [CH I.18–19, both imperfect],⁴⁸ • f^d [CH I.26, imperfect],⁴⁹ • f^h [CH I.29, imperfect],⁵⁰ • f^(t) [CH I.1, imperfect]⁵¹ and • f^q [CH I.1, imperfect]⁵²

⁴⁴ On Hc, see phase γ¹ above.

⁴⁵ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 21, 98, 105 n. 1, 122–3, 125, and apparatus to pp. 311 and 313; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 27–8.

⁴⁶ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 46, 98, and 122.

⁴⁷ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 47, 98, and 122.

⁴⁸ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 53–4 and 98.

⁴⁹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 56.

⁵⁰ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 59.

⁵¹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 60–1.

⁵² See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 64.

Appendix 2

The Dissemination of CH II¹

First Recension MSS

Early stages (ca 993 [after 4 June] – ca 998)	Archetype 1
	• B(a [CH II.25 (imperfect), 26 (imperfect, extract) and 31(imperfect)], c² [CH II.30], d³ [CH II.28–9 and 32b (80–225)] and e⁴ [CH II.24b (53–253)]), • C(a [CH II.4 (last few words), 5–6, 8, and 13–14] and d [CH II.22]), • F(a [CH II.12] and b [CH II.8 and 13–14]), • G [CH II.28, 29 (imperfect), 30, and 32 (imperfect)], and • X^e [CH II.14 (imperfect)] • B(d⁵ [CH II.5–6 (5b [234–87] preceding 5a [1–233])]), • C(c [CH II.35–8] and d [CH II.23, 25–6, 28, and 31 (with <i>De sancta Maria</i>)]), • D1 [CH II.5–7, 9–11, and 17–18], • D2 [CH II.5 and 7 (both imperfect)]⁶ 19–28, 31 (with <i>De sancta Maria</i>), <i>Excusatio dictantis</i>, and 35–40], • E(a [CH II.4–7, 9–11, 17–18, and 23–4] and possibly b3 [CH II.27]),⁷ • F(a [CH II.19] and b [CH II.4–7, 23, 25–6, 28, and 31 (with <i>De sancta Maria</i>)]), • G [CH II.24 (imperfect) and probably 27b (182–231)], • L(c [CH II.11 (imperfect)] and possibly d [CH II.21 (imperfect)]) • X^e [CH II.9 (extract)], and • f^p [CH II.7]

¹ Again, 'Augmented' indicates authorial additions (and sometimes revisions) to the text, while 'Revised' indicates the presence of noteworthy authorial revisions; other entries assume minor revisions to contents at various phases of Second Series dissemination.

² Clemoes includes CH II.30 with his Bd1 group (*First Series*, p. 3).

³ Clemoes includes CH II.28–9 and 32b with his Bd1 group (*First Series*, p. 3).

⁴ Clemoes includes CH II.24b with his Be6 group (*First Series*, p. 3).

⁵ Clemoes includes CH II.5–6 in his Bd2 group (*First Series*, p. 3).

⁶ Godden says that these incomplete copies of CH II.5 and 7 in D2 [Ker §309.77 and 76] (which appear in addition to the full copies of the homilies in D1 [Ker §309.18 and 15]) 'belong to the same textual tradition as D and the related manuscripts E and F, but do not seem to have been copied from D itself and there is insufficient evidence to establish the relationship more precisely' (*Second Series*, p. xxviii).

⁷ Godden says that this homily 'shows no advance over K and has several minor readings in common with D, which could indicate the use of a manuscript of the tradition to which D and E(a) belong [that is, Archetype 1b], though connections with D of a minor kind are also evident with [CH II.]29' in E(b1) – see Archetype 8 below (*Second Series*, p. xxxi).

Early stages (continued)	Archetype 1 (continued)	Uncertain • F [CH II.15 (extract)]⁸
	Archetype 2	• K [CH II. prefaces (Latin and Old English), <i>Ammonitio</i>, 1–10, 11 (imperfect), 12–20, 21 (imperfect), 22–30, 31 (with <i>De sancta Maria</i>), 32–3, 34 (with <i>Excusatio dictantis</i>), 35–40, <i>Explicit</i>, and <i>Oratio</i>] and • f^k [CH II.2, 9, 27, 32–4, 36, 38, and 40, all imperfect]⁹
	Archetype 3	• L(d1) [CH II.17, 27 (imperfect), 32 (imperfect), and 33] and d2 [CH II.9 and 30]
	Archetype 4	• B(e¹⁰) [CH II.27 (imperfect) and 37–9] and perhaps f [CH II.4 and 40]) and • J2 [CH II.1 (extract) and 40 (extracts)]
	Archetype 5	• f^k [CH II.11 (imperfect), 17a (imperfect), 17b, and 18 (imperfect)]
Later stages (between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005)	Archetype 6	• M [CH II.4 (imperfect), 5–8, 12–6, 19 (extracts), 22, 23b (lines 126–98), and 39 (extract)] and • f^{a(2)11} [CH II.16 (ending imperfectly) and 32 (two imperfect sections, with leaves lost in between)]
	Archetype 7	• L(a) [CH II.13]), • N [CH II.4 (imperfect), 5–8, 12 (imperfect), and 13–16], and • O [CH II.5–8, 13–14, 15 (imperfect), and 16]
	Archetype 8	• E(b1) [CH II.8, 13, 15–16, and 37–9, the last being imperfect], b2 [CH II.34 (with <i>Excusatio dictantis</i>)], and perhaps b3 [CH II.27]),¹² • T1(b2¹³) [CH II.1]), and • T2(b4¹⁴) [CH II.9 (imperfect) and 17–18])

⁸ Extracts of CH II.15 in F are incorporated into a composite homily not by Ælfric for Easter Day (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxii and 150); given that witnesses in F are divided between Archetypes 1a and 1b, and that no comparative version of CH II.15 appears in C, the extracts may be associated generally with Archetype 1 without further precision.

⁹ Godden says that these homilies in f^k 'show no authentic differences of substance from K' (*Second Series*, p. lix).

¹⁰ Clemoes includes CH II.27 and 37–9 with his Be6 group (*First Series*, p. 4).

¹¹ Or f^a (for CH I.32) and f^b (for CH II.16) according to Clemoes (*First Series*, pp. 50–2).

¹² Godden says that this homily 'shows no advance over K and has several minor readings in common with D, which could indicate the use of a manuscript of the tradition to which D and E(a) belong [that is, Archetype 1b above], though connections with D of a minor kind are also evident with [CH II.]29' in E(b1) (*Second Series*, p. xxxi).

¹³ Or Tc2 using Clemoes' designation (*First Series*, p. 44).

¹⁴ Or Td according to Clemoes (*First Series*, p. 44).

Later stages (continued)	Uncertain Archetype	• f^d [<i>CH</i> II.24 (imperfect)]¹⁵
<i>Second Recension MSS</i>		
Early stages	Archetype 1 (between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – [1009 x 1010])	• G [revised <i>CH</i> II.20–1 (as in P)] and • P1(a [augmented <i>CH</i> II.19 and 39 (now <i>SH</i> II.24 and 28, the latter imperfect); revised <i>CH</i> II.19–21] and b [revised <i>CH</i> II.35–8 and 40])
	Archetype 2 (<i>ca</i> 1006 – [1009 x 1010])	• H(c [revised <i>CH</i> II.8 (imperfect), 23a (1–125), and 25–6; augmented <i>CH</i> II.28 and 31 (now <i>SH</i> II.26 and 27, the latter imperfect); <i>SH</i> II.17 (incorporating <i>CH</i> II.23.127–8 and 131–97); and <i>CH</i> II.29 (imperfect)])
	Archetype 3 (<i>ca</i> 1006 – [1009 x 1010])	• U [augmented <i>CH</i> II.16; revised <i>CH</i> II.23a and 25–6]
Later stages (?)	Archetype 4 (<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010)	• B(e¹⁶ [augmented <i>CH</i> II.3 (as in R)] and g [<i>De auaritia</i>, incorporating <i>CH</i> II.26.108–33]), • R1(a [augmented <i>CH</i> II.28 (now <i>SH</i> II.26 and <i>SH</i> II.30.75–114); passage incorporating <i>CH</i> II.39.184–98; and <i>De auaritia</i>, incorporating <i>CH</i> II.26.108–33] and b [augmented <i>CH</i> II.3, 7, and 22 (now <i>SH</i> II.25); and revised <i>CH</i> II.14]), and • T2(b3¹⁷ [revised <i>CH</i> II.14 (as in R) and extracts from <i>CH</i> II.7 (Napier 55)] and c2¹⁸ [augmentation to <i>CH</i> II.18 (now <i>SH</i> II.23) and perhaps <i>CH</i> II.13 (extract)])

¹⁵ Godden includes f^d among his First Recension manuscripts, but says that ‘the surviving text of II.24 offers no significant readings’ that might associate it with a particular archetype (*Second Series*, p. lvii).

¹⁶ Clemoes includes *CH* II.3 with his Bel group (*First Series*, p. 3).

¹⁷ Or Tc1 (for *CH* II.14) and Tc3 (for *CH* II.7 / Napier 45) using Clemoes’ division of T (*First Series*, p. 44).

¹⁸ Clemoes does not have an analogous designation for Godden’s Tc2 [Ker §331.82–4] (*First Series*, pp. 43–5).

Later stages (continued))	Archetype 5 (<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010)	f^b [augmented <i>CH</i> II.19 (imperfect; includes an authorial adaptation of <i>CH</i> II.26.110–33 [<i>De auaritia</i>]), augmented 22 (imperfect; collated for <i>SH</i> II.25) and 28 (imperfect)]
Uncertain stage	Archetype 6	- V2(b) [<i>CH</i> II.35 and 37–8; augmented <i>CH</i> II.39 (now <i>SH</i> II.28))] and - X^a [<i>CH</i> II.36]
	Uncertain Recension	T3(c1) [<i>CH</i> II.29 (imperfect)]¹⁹

¹⁹ Godden does not comment on this section of T – additions at the end of our T3, containing no Second Series material save for *CH* II.29 – and the rest of the manuscript is divided: T1(b2) and T2(b4) bear witness to the First Recension, Archetype 8, while T2(b3 and c2) bear witness to the Second Recension, Archetype 4.

Appendix 3

The Dissemination of CH I and II¹

Between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] ca 987 ²	Composition of homiletic precursors to CH ³ and LS ⁴
987–9	Initial composition of CH works ⁵

¹ Again, ‘x’ is used to indicate years between which events occurred, while ‘–’ is used to indicate a period over the course of which events occurred. Parentheses group compound dates for clarity.

² That is, while Ælfric was at Winchester prior to moving to Cerne (Hill, ‘Life and Works’, pp. 44 and 52).

³ ‘Given the prolific rate of composition after 987’, Godden reflects, ‘it seems surprising that he was not writing before then. ... [perhaps] some of his time at Winchester was spent composing Latin sermons and homilies for the monks and clerics and perhaps students, which may have provided a starting-point for the later vernacular work’ (*Commentary*, p. xxxi; see also Corona, ‘Ælfric’s Schemes and Tropes’, p. 318). Joyce Hill further observes that ‘If this were the case, it would go some way towards explaining why he was selected to go to Cerne. What was different about Cerne, however, was that Ælfric was able to see, more clearly than he had probably ever been able to do in Winchester, what the state of learning was both in a small community and in the secular church, and how there was little to no access to the orthodox and patristically validated exegetical teaching that he had come to take for granted in the exceptional environment of Winchester’ (‘Life and Works’, pp. 52–3).

⁴ Corona suggests that ‘some of the [*First Series*] homilies could have been written before 987, that is to say, when Ælfric was still at Winchester, prior to Æthelmaer’s re-foundation of the monastery at Cerne. Likewise, Ælfric had been writing, or at least planning, some of the items in *Lives of Saints* while he was still completing the homilies, as, for example, his use of the same Latin source for the *Homily on the Assumption of Mary* (CH I.30) and the *Life of Basil* (LS I.13) indicates’ (‘Ælfric’s Schemes and Tropes’, p. 318; see also her *Ælfric’s Life of Saint Basil*, pp. 50–73).

⁵ Godden states that ‘[Ælfric’s] CH I preface indicates that the Catholic Homilies project was conceived after he came to Cerne, and the CH II preface seems to confirm that the writing took place at Cerne’ (*Commentary*, p. xxi). Clemoes, similarly, asserts that ‘988 seems rather early for Ælfric to have organized the set as a whole (even if he came to Cerne in 987), but no doubt he composed some of the homilies in that year: for instance, [CH I.38] was probably the result of two years’ growth, preached on the first occasion without a passion and on the second occasion with one’ (Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35).

	<i>CH I</i>	<i>CH II</i>
989	Completion of composition and first organization of <i>CH I</i> ⁶	Between [A] <i>ca</i> July x December 989 and [B] II First organization of <i>CH II</i>
January–June 990	Phase α (production of MS A) ⁷	<i>ca</i> 991
July–December 990	Revision of MS A; production of Æthelweard's [lost] copy of <i>CH I</i> (phase β); production of Sigeric's copy of <i>CH I</i> (phase β) ⁸	
January x June 991	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces to <i>CH I</i> (including Latin note at <i>CH I</i> .pref., apparatus for line 134); augmented Phase β copy of <i>CH I</i> sent to Æthelweard; original Phase β copy of <i>CH I</i> sent to Sigeric ⁹	
Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992 ¹⁰	Phase γ ¹ (Ha-type)	Completion of composition and first organization of <i>CH II</i> ; ¹¹ production of Sigeric's copy of <i>CH II</i>

⁶ See above for discussions of the Viking raids referenced in the Latin preface to the Second Series, the possible influence of the liturgical year and the date of Archbishop Sigeric's death.

⁷ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; see also Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35 n. 6.

⁸ Sigeric's copy would have been produced between [A] the revision of MS A, presumably earlier in the second half of 990, and [B] the issue of Sigeric's copy in the first half of 991 (*First Series*, pp. 161 and 162 n. 4).

⁹ *First Series*, pp. 161; this would be prior to the Viking attacks of autumn 991.

¹⁰ Between the time Ælfric sent the Phase-β copy of *CH I* and the copy of *CH II* to Sigeric (*First Series*, p. 161).

¹¹ As noted above, while Godden dates Sigeric's death to 995, following Keynes' dating of Sigeric's demise to 994 pushes back our dating of the Second Series' composition. Similarly, Pope, following Sisam, dates the completion of *CH II* to *ca* Midsummer 992; Sisam's arguments, however, derive from calculations based on liturgical calendars, the evidential value of which we have dismissed. Sisam, Godden and Clemoes agree, however, that [1] the composition of *CH II* was underway when Ælfric sent *CH I* to Sigeric, and [2] that Ælfric, hurrying (*festinans*), finished *CH II* and sent it to Sigeric about a year later (Sisam, *Studies*, p. 160; Godden, *Second Series*, xciii, and *Commentary*, p. xxxv; and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161). Although Clemoes' 'Chronology' dates the initial

CH I	CH II
January x June 992	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces; CH II sent to Sigeric ¹²
ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998 ¹³	First Recension, Archetypes 1–5
Between [A] ca 993 (after 4 June) and [2] ca 998 x 1002 ¹⁴	Phase γ^2 (K-type)
Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 ¹⁵	TH I / phase δ^1 and δ^2 [if authorial]; Phases ϵ^1 , ϵ^2 , and ϵ^3 (perhaps) [if authorial] ¹⁶
ca 1005–6	First Recension, Archetypes 6–8 Phase ϵ^3 (probably) ¹⁷

completion of CH II to 992, therefore, it must fall between the time Ælfric sends copies of CH I and II to Sigeric – that is, in the period starting in the first half of 991 and ending in the first half of 992.

¹² Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161.

¹³ That is, while Ælfric was writing the *Grammar* and *Lines of Saints* – after his *Letter for Wulfsgie*, the earliest date for which is ca 993 (after 4 June), and before Æthelweard's death ca 998 (Goddan, *Second Series*, p. xciii; Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 56); as Godden says elsewhere, 'The process of copying and rearrangement must have begun almost as soon as the *Catholic Homilies* were issued' (*Second Series*, p. lxii).

¹⁴ Clemoes states that 'the γ K-type codex ... can be safely regarded as the standard product of Ælfric's scriptorium, so far as homilies are concerned, during the period when he was mainly engaged in composing the *Lives of Saints* and Old Testament pieces' – that is, after his *Letter for Wulfsgie* [early in Wulfsgie's tenure between ca 993 (after 4 June) and ca 995] and before Assmann 9 (*Juðith*) [perhaps the last Old Testament piece, produced between ca 998, Æthelweard's death, and 1002, Wulfstan's elevation as Archbishop of York] (*First Series*, pp. 161 and 69, and 'Chronology', pp. 56 and 53).

¹⁵ That is, between Wulfstan's appointment at York and Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham.

¹⁶ For Clemoes' suggestion that phases δ^2 and ϵ^3 are 'contemporary', see *First Series*, pp. 133; note further, however, the association of ϵ^3 with the period ca 1005–6 below.

¹⁷ While Clemoes describes phases δ^2 and ϵ^3 as 'contemporary' (see *First Series*, p. 133), he not only views the latter as 'slightly later' than ϵ^2 (*First Series*, p. 116), but dates UK 8 / Assmann 3, which he posits Ælfric composed specifically for this recension of CH I, to the year between Ælfric's *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (written after coming to Eynsham later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005) and *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (completed, as he tells us in his preface to the latter [Fehr II §1 (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 68)], the year after his arrival); see *First Series*, pp. 84–5 and 119; 'Supplement', p. xx; 'Chronology', pp. 48, 52, 54–7, and 70 n. 84; and note Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26). For the dating of UK 8 / Assmann 3 to ca 1005–6, see also Clayton, 'Ælfric and the Nativity', pp. 295–6; and Upchurch, 'A Big Dog Barks', p. 507. On phase ϵ , see *First Series*, pp. 83–5, 112, and 119.

<i>CH I</i>	<i>CH II</i>
Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) ¹⁸	Second Recension, Archetype 1
<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) ¹⁹	Second Recension, Archetypes 2–3
<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010 ²⁰	Second Recension, Archetypes 4–5 ²¹
	Second Recension, Archetype 6 (date uncertain) ²²

¹⁸ Godden suggests that Ælfric carried out this substantial revision of *CH II* perhaps after becoming abbot and prior to producing *TH II* (*Second Series*, pp. xciv and xc).

¹⁹ Given the amount of work that no doubt faced Ælfric in his first year at Eynsham, and the number of texts he appears to have written during that time, Clemoes suggests that over a year likely passed between his arrival in 1005 and his final phase of *CH I* revision (*First Series*, p. 85); phase ζ – which Clemoes views as ‘probably contemporary with the latest manifestation of [phase ε¹] (p. 133) – would thus fall early in the period *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010). As regards *TH II*, Pope suggests that one piece in this series, *SH II.14*, may have been composed as late as 1009 or 1010 (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149, and vol. II, pp. 513–14). That is, from Ælfric’s composition of *SH II.14* until his death.

²⁰ Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xc and xciv.

²² Godden, *Second Series*, p. lxxii.

2.

The Ælfrician Canon

The constitution of the canon, moreover, remains unsettled: some of the Latin compositions attributed to Ælfric are probably not his; others have only recently joined the list, while still others – perhaps a considerable number – await discovery or will remain forever unidentified because they bear no obvious relation to his known and frequently read works.¹

As our above study of his chronology suggests, Ælfric's corpus is nothing if not complex. So is the history of his corpus in print. Ælfric himself habitually revised, reissued, and repurposed his own writings. For centuries after – against his express wishes – others included Ælfrician selections in heterogeneous collections or incorporated extracts into anonymous composite works. From Elizabethan England to the present age, moreover, scholars have published editions of his material – much of which is out of print, languishes in dissertations, overlooks manuscript witnesses, fails to recognize multiple authorial originals, or dismisses as illegitimate compilations only possibly assembled by Ælfric or only partially written by him at all. Building on the overviews of Clemoes and Pope,² the following seeks to capture our current understanding of Ælfric's canon and to untangle the dizzying array of editions that preserve it.

One caution: it should come as no surprise given the complexity of the evidence that when speaking of authorship there are gradations of doubt. Was Ælfric completely responsible for a given form of a text? Even taking differences between medieval and modern notions of 'originality' as a given, previous scholarship has (understandably) tended to seek a binary answer to this question. Take, for example, the controversy around *De sancta uirginitate* [1.6.1.2.2; UK 7], a text made up entirely of material composed by Ælfric: if Ælfric did not himself assemble the component passages, the assumption goes, the text should not be counted in his canon. Arguably, however, even anonymous composite homilies drawing on Ælfric and other authors are important witnesses to Ælfrician textual history. Future accounts of canon contents may well include such compositions.³ For the present, our list is more conservative, being restricted to items that were at least possibly

¹ Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 3–4.

² 'Chronology', pp. 31–7; and *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 136–45, respectively; see also Kleist, 'Ælfric's Corpus', to which this section provides a considerable update.

³ For future study, one is put in mind, for example, of the amalgamation of passages that occur on J2, fols 31r, line 3 – 38r, line 5 [Ker §283.5], including material mostly by Ælfric; and on X^b, fol. 117rv [Ker §58a], including a witness to *De penitentia* [4.4.2; UK 19] – though they are not included in the list below.

composed by Ælfric. Even so, it calls us to reconsider and perhaps redefine what makes a text ‘Ælfrician’, for the boundaries are anything but clear-cut. The nebulous category of ‘Epitomes and Abridgements’, where Ælfric (or his research assistants) may have roughly hewn passages from potential source material, poses a particular challenge in this regard, as the very nature of such texts runs counter to a touchstone litmus test for Ælfric’s authorship: his ‘ingenious’ (versus ‘pedestrian’) integration and adaptation of sources.⁴ Ultimately, in many cases, the degree of Ælfric’s responsibility may be impossible to prove; to students interested in the larger history of Ælfrician textual transmission, moreover, definitive answers may be less consequential. Nonetheless, a distinction is made in the itemization below between the eighty-six works (or collections of works, such as the *Catholic Homilies*) attributed to Ælfric by the preponderance of scholarly opinion and thirty-four works (marked ‘*’) whose authorship is still under debate.

This section does more than speak to authorship, however. Entries below provide overviews of contents, suggested date of composition, lists of manuscript witnesses, existing and planned editions (where known), pages found in facsimile or digital images, English translations, notes, and cross-references. Treatments of the two Series of *Catholic Homilies* [1.1 and 1.2] track the dissemination of all homilies across manuscripts in each phase of composition; discussion of Pope’s *Supplementary Homilies* [1.3] assigns dates to each; examination of the two Series of *Temporale Homilies* [1.4 and 1.5] give Clemoes’ posited contents in full; and analysis of the *Lives of Saints* assigns dates to each item and identifies all manuscript witnesses not edited or collated by Skeat. ‘N’ identifies forty-two ‘new’ items not in Clemoes’ ‘Chronology’. ‘U’ indicates where names have been given to eleven items left untitled or referred to by liturgical occasion in the ‘Chronology’ and previous editions. ‘L’ denotes texts in Latin. ‘†’ are texts being edited by Upchurch and Kleist. Taken together, this material traces what we think Ælfric may have written, redrawing the boundaries to include liminal ‘Ælfrician’ works.

Table 4 Canon Contents

				1. Homilies	
				1.1. <i>Catholic Homilies</i> [CH] I	
				1.2. <i>Catholic Homilies</i> [CH] II	
				1.3. <i>Supplementary Homilies</i> [SH] I and II	
				1.4. <i>Temporale Homilies</i> [TH] I	
5				1.5. <i>Temporale Homilies</i> [TH] II	
				1.6. Miscellaneous Homilies	
				1.6.1. Liturgical homilies	
				1.6.1.1. The Proper of the Season	
†				1.6.1.1.1. <i>In natali domini</i>	
†	*	L	N	1.6.1.1.2. <i>Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime</i>	
				1.6.1.1.3. <i>Secundum Iohannem</i>	
†		U		1.6.1.1.4. <i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> I, II, and III	

⁴ Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 31, and vol. II, p. 802.

⁵ Includes *De septiformi spiritu* [in Latin] [UK 17 / Napier 7].

The Chronology and Canon of Ælfric of Eynsham

†		U	1.6.1.1.5.	<i>Collegerunt ergo pontifices</i>
†		U	1.6.1.1.6.	<i>Modicum et iam non uidebitis me</i>
†	*	U	1.6.1.1.7.	<i>Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa</i>
		U	1.6.1.1.8.	<i>Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum</i>
		U	1.6.1.1.9.	<i>Simile est regnum celorum homini regi</i>
			1.6.1.2.	The Proper of the Saints
		U	1.6.1.2.1.	<i>Nisi granum frumenti</i>
†	*	U	1.6.1.2.2.	<i>De sancta uirginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis</i>
†			1.6.1.2.3.	<i>Natiuitas sanctae Mariae uirginis</i>
			1.6.1.3.	The Common of the Saints
†			1.6.1.3.1.	<i>Sermo in natale unius confessoris</i>
†		U	1.6.1.3.2.	<i>Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ</i>
			1.6.1.4.	Unspecified occasions
†	*	U	1.6.1.4.1.	<i>Esto consentiens aduersario</i>
			1.6.1.4.2.	<i>Hexameron</i>
†		N	1.6.1.4.3.	<i>Menn behofiað godre lare</i>
†	*		1.6.1.4.4.	<i>De uirginitate</i>

2. Separate Works

2.1. Tracts Allied to the Homilies and Treated as Such in Certain Manuscripts

			2.1.1.	<i>Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin</i>
	*		2.1.2.	<i>De duodecim abusiuis</i>
		N	2.1.3.	<i>De octo uitiiis et de duodecim abusiuis</i>
†	L		2.1.4.	<i>De septiformi spiritu</i>
†			2.1.5.	<i>Be þam halgan gaste</i>
†			2.1.6.	<i>De creatore et creatura</i>
†			2.1.7.	<i>De sex etatibus huius seculi</i>

2.2. *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*

2.3. *De temporibus anni*

2.4. Grammatical Works

2.4.1. *Grammar*

2.4.2. *Glossary*

2.4.3. *Colloquy*

3. Non-Liturgical Narrative Pieces

3.1. Old Testament

3.1.1. *Esther*

3.1.2. *Judith*

3.1.3. *Heptateuch*

3.2. Others

3.2.1. *Lives of Saints*

3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt*

3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi*

3.2.4. *De uaniloquio neglegentium*

3.2.5. *Vita Æthelwoldi*

4. Letters

4.1. Letters to Bishops

4.1.1. *Letter for Wulfsige*

4.1.2. *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*

4.1.3. *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan*

4.1.4. *Second Latin for Wulfstan*

4.1.5. *First OE Letter for Wulfstan*

The Ælfrian Canon

			4.1.6. <i>Second OE Letter for Wulfstan</i>
			4.2. Letters to Clergy
	L		4.2.1. <i>Letter to the Monks of Eynsham</i>
*		N	4.3.1. <i>Letter to Brother Edward</i>
			4.3.2. <i>Letter to Sigeweard, or Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo</i>
			4.3.3. <i>Letter to Sigefyrth</i>
			4.3.4. <i>Letter to Wulfgeat</i>
			4.4. Passages that May Have Been Excerpted or Adapted from Letters
	*	N	4.4.1. <i>Hieronimus se wurpfulla</i>
†			4.4.2. <i>In quadragesima, de penitentia</i>
	*	N	4.4.3. <i>Be þam Iudeiscum</i>
†		U	4.4.4. <i>Læwedum mannun is to witenne</i>
	*	N	4.4.5. <i>Witan sceoldon smeagan</i>
6			5. Prefaces
			6. Epitomes and Abridgements
*	L	N	6.1. <i>Accepit autem rex Ecgrid</i>
*	L	N	6.2. <i>Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis</i>
	L	N	6.3. <i>Decalogus Moysi</i>
*	L	N	6.4. <i>Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum de libris recipiendis</i>
*		N	6.5. <i>De ecclesiastica consuetudine</i>
*	L	N	6.6. <i>Erat in eodem monasterio</i>
*	L	N	6.7. <i>Primus igitur homo</i>
	L	N	6.8. <i>Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni</i>
*	L	N	6.9. <i>Excerptiones de Prisciano</i>
*	L	N	6.10. <i>Gregorii de pastoribus non recte gradientibus</i>
*	L	N	6.11. <i>De his qui auguria adtendunt</i>
*	L	N	6.12. <i>Hoc est Dei et sancti Cuthberti miraculum</i>
*	L	N	6.13. <i>In illo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum</i>
*	L	N	6.14. <i>Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis</i>
*	L	N	6.15. <i>De doctrina et exemplis praepositorum</i>
	L	N	6.16. <i>Isidori de sacerdotibus</i>
*	L	N	6.17. <i>De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum</i>
*	L	N	6.18. <i>Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur</i>
*	L	N	6.19. <i>De pascha</i>
*	L	N	6.20. <i>Regnauit igitur Osuald Christianissimus</i>
	L	N	6.21. <i>De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis</i>
			7. Miscellanea
*		N	7.1. <i>Be ane munuccilde</i>
		N	7.2. <i>De auaritia</i>
			7.3. <i>De cogitatione</i>
*	L	N	7.4. <i>Duo reges fuerunt</i>
*	L	N	7.5. <i>De ebrietate cauenda</i>
*	L	N	7.6. <i>Expositio officii</i>
			7.7. <i>Gebedu on Englisc</i>
		N	7.8. <i>Be gehadedum mannun</i>
			7.9. <i>De infantibus</i>
†			7.10. <i>Se læssa creda</i>
†			7.11. <i>Mæsse creda</i>
		N	7.12. <i>The Old English Ely Privilege [Gode Ælmihtigum rixiende]</i>
†			7.13. <i>Pater noster</i>

⁶ Certain prefaces delineated below are in Latin.

	L	N	7.14. <i>De sabbato</i>
*	L	N	7.15. <i>De seruitio carnis</i>
*		N	7.16. <i>Uton biddan ealle</i>
			8. Notes
			8.1. <i>CH I</i> [1.1 above]
			8.1.1. Old English Notes
			8.1.1.1. <i>CH I.12</i> , at Line 79
			8.1.1.2. <i>CH I.14</i> , Apparatus for Line 220
			8.1.2. Latin Notes
			8.1.2.1. <i>CH I.pref.</i> , Apparatus for Line 134
			8.1.2.2. <i>CH I.11</i> , Apparatus for Line 110
			8.1.2.3. <i>CH I.12</i> , Apparatus for Line 83
			8.1.2.4. <i>CH I.21</i> , Apparatus for Line 148
			8.1.2.5. <i>CH I.26</i>
			8.1.2.5.1. Apparatus for Line 156
			8.1.2.5.2. Apparatus for Line 275
			8.1.2.6. <i>CH I.28</i> , Apparatus for Line 40
			8.1.2.7. <i>CH I.30</i> , Apparatus for Line 3
			8.1.2.8. <i>CH I.32</i> , Apparatus for Lines 57 and 63
			8.1.2.8.1. Apparatus for Line 57
			8.1.2.8.2. Apparatus for Line 63
			8.2. <i>CH II</i> [1.2 above]
			8.2.1. Old English Notes
			8.2.1.1. <i>CH II.14.357</i>
			8.2.2. Latin Notes
			8.2.2.1. <i>CH II.4.129–30</i>
			8.2.2.2. <i>CH II.6.117</i>
			8.2.2.3. <i>CH II.24</i>
			8.2.2.3.1. <i>CH II.24.128–30</i>
			8.2.2.3.2. <i>CH II.24.163–64</i>
			8.2.2.4. <i>CH II.30.19</i>
			8.2.3. Latin and Old English
			8.2.3.1. <i>SH II.28</i> [Augmentation to <i>CH II.39</i> , After Line 121]
			[1.3 above]
+	L		8.3. <i>Sermo in natale unius confessoris</i> [1.6.1.3.1 above]
			8.4. <i>De temporibus anni</i> [2.3 above]
			8.5. <i>LS</i> [3.2.1 above]
			8.5.1. <i>LS 28</i> [Skeat II.31]
	L		8.6. <i>Her is geleafa</i>
	U		
	8	N	8.7. <i>Her geendað seo forme boc</i>

⁷ Partly in Latin.

⁸ Partly in Latin.

1. Homilies⁹

1.1. [B.1.1]¹⁰ *Catholic Homilies I* [CH I]¹¹

- Overview: Having composed a series of homilies for his own use as priest of Cerne Abbas, Ælfric revised and issued them in two series dedicated to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (12 or 13 February 990 – 28 October 994), to provide clergy with orthodox preaching material in the vernacular.¹² Scholarship on the First Series has discussed such subjects as Ælfric's audience, use of hagiography, attitude towards apocrypha, construction of an authorial persona, and teaching on penance, kingship, and divine foreknowledge.¹³
- Date: While Ælfric's ongoing process of revision and dissemination occurred over the course of years, we may date the completion of Ælfric's initial composition and first organization of CH I to 989 and his composition of the Latin and Old English Prefaces to January x June 991.¹⁴
- MSS: A [Ker §257.1–40]: CH I.1 [imperfect], 2–14, 15 [imperfect], 16–19, 20 [imperfect], 21–2, 23 [imperfect], 24 [imperfect], and 25–40;
B [Ker §310.6, 34, 48, 21, 36, 27, 23, 38–9, 3, 40, 13, 47, 41–2, 49–50, 43–6, 51, 14, 55, 15, 52, 74, 53, 56–7, 30, and 32–3]: CH I.1–2, 6, 8–10, 13–15, 17 [imperfect], 18–31, 33–6, 38 [extract], and 39–40;
C [Ker §57.2, 6–7, 10, 28, 14, 16, 42, 48–50, 53, 19–22, 56, 24–5, 60, 29, 61, and 30–3]: CH I.8, 10–15, 18, 21–9, and 32–8;
D1 [Ker §§309.2–6, 9–10, 17, 14, and 27–9]: CH I.3–10, 13, and 15–17;
D2 [Ker §309.33–4, 36, 40, 42–4, 47–8, 51–3, 56, 61–2, 70–2, 78–9, and 74]: CH I.1, 18–28, 33, and 35–40;
E [Ker §48.66, 2–6, 9–10, 17, 61, 14, 27–9, 33–5, 38, 41–3, 53, 65, and 55]: CH I.1, 3–11, 13, 15–17, 21–3, 25–7, 29, 31 [extract], and 34;
F [Ker §38.1, 10, 13, 15, 23, 33–4, 2–3, 39–40, 43, 46, 50–1, and 53–4]: CH I.1, 8, 10–12, 16–17, 19–20, 22–4, 28, 33, 35, and 39–40;
G [Ker §209.1, 53, 52, 40, 50, 4, 20, 9–10, 41, 14, 16 and 18, 19, 22, 29, 36, and 28]: CH I.1 [extract], 10 [extract, imperfect], 13 [extract], 18

⁹ For ease of reference and comparison, I retain the categories employed by Clemoes and Pope (q.v.), supplemented by Jones' 'Epitomes and Abridgements' ('Medieval Latin Author', pp. 7–16) – though Jones himself aptly notes that 'dividing [Ælfric's] works into generic categor[ies] is a largely artificial exercise' (18).

¹⁰ Numbers in square brackets, where available for Old English works, are taken from Frank and Cameron, *Plan for the Dictionary*.

¹¹ Or *Liber catholicorum sermonum Anglica[e] in anno primo* (Clemones, *First Series*, p. 178).

¹² Clemones, *Homilies*, p. 65; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. xci.

¹³ See for example Kleist, 'Bibliography', pp. 528–36.

¹⁴ Here and throughout, 'x' is used to indicate years between which events occurred, while '–' is used to indicate a period over the course of which events occurred. Parentheses group compound dates for clarity.

- [extract], 19 [extract], 20 [extracts], 21,¹⁵ 25 [extract], 26 [extract], 27 [extract], 28, 30 [in two parts], 32, 34 [extract], 36 [extract], 37 [extract], and 40;
- H [Ker §220.2–3, 5–6, 8–14, 17–20, 21–9, 37–43, 47, and 50–62]: *CH* I.1–3, 4 [imperfect], 5–25, 26 [imperfect], 27 [imperfect], 28 [imperfect], 29 [imperfect], and 30–40 [all homilies imperfect at edges of leaves];
- J1 [Ker §144.3, 2, and 6]: *CH* I.1, 17, and 18 [heavily adapted extracts];
- J2 [Ker §283.1, 5, 2, 5 [again], and 3]: *CH* I.2, 11 [extract], 15, 19 [extracts], and 36 [extract];
- K [Ker §15.1–42]: *CH* I.pref–29, 30 [imperfect], 31–4, 35 [imperfect], 36–9, and 40 [imperfect];
- L [Ker §18.3, 21, 11, 22, 8–9, 7, 24, 14, 44, 33, and 10]: *CH* I.2–5, 26 [extract], 27 [extract], 29, 31, 32 [extract], 37 [extracts], and 38 [extract];
- M [Ker §21.28, 2, 6, 8, 12, 18–19, 23–4, 29 and 36 and 37, 31, 33, and 28 [again, for both *CH* I.28 and 35]]: *CH* I.3 [extract], 8, 10–12, 14–17, 18 [three separate extracts], 19 [imperfect], 21–2, 28, and 35;
- N [Ker §153.2, 10, 11, 15, 21, 25, 29–30, 34–5, and 37]: *CH* I.8, 10 [imperfect], 11 [imperfect], 12, 14 [imperfect], 15–16, 17 [imperfect], and 20–2;
- O [Ker §56.6–8, 16, 18, 22, 25, 29–34, and 2–3]: *CH* I.2–4, 10–12, 14, 17 [imperfect], 18–19, 20 [imperfect], and 39–40;
- P1 [Ker §332.28 and 2–3]: *CH* I.pref. [extract] and 19–20;
- Q [Ker §43.43, 2–11, 13–22, 24–34, 36–42, 43 [again], and 44]: *CH* I.pref. [extract], 2–19, 20 [fragment], 22 [imperfect], 23–8, 29 [imperfect], 30 [imperfect], and 31–40;
- R1 [Ker §41A.12, 1, 21, 22, 24, 20, 27–29, 5, 31–2, and 4]: *CH* I.pref. [extract], 1–2, 6, 9, 13, 14 [extract], 15–16, 19, 21, 22 [imperfect], and 24;
- R2 [Ker §41A.4]: *CH* I.24;
- S [Ker §333.2–9 and 11–15]: *CH* I.25–7, 29–32, 34, and 36–8;
- T1 [Ker §331.34–6 and 31]: *CH* I.3–5 and 19;
- T2 [Ker §331.36–9, 41–2, 46, 40, 49–52, 57–8, 64–9, and 73–4]: *CH* I.5–7, 9–13, 14 [extract], 15–16, 18 [extract], 21–2, 25–7, 30–1, 34, and 36;
- T3 [Ker §338.34, 33, and 31–2]: *CH* I.pref. [extract], 14 [extract], and 39–40;
- U [Ker §86.1, 4–5, 9–12, 14, 19, 21, and 28]: *CH* I.15–24 and 28;
- V1b [Ker §68.16]: *CH* I.26 [extract appearing independently as *Uton biddan ealle** (7.16)];
- V2 [Ker §69.12–15 and 1]: *CH* I.18–20, 21 [imperfect], and 22;
- X^s [not in Ker]: *CH* I.1 and 24 [extract];
- Xⁱ [Ker §282]: *CH* I.14 [extract] and 22;

¹⁵ Two sentences from *CH* I.21 adapted following *SH* I.4.55; see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 18.

- f^{a(2)} [Ker §63.1, 3–5, and 9]: *CH* I.15 [imperfect], 19 [imperfect], 30 [imperfect], 31 [imperfect], and 34 [imperfect];
f^b [Ker §74.4–5]: *CH* I.18–19 [both fragments];
f^{c(1)} [*cf.* Ker §81]: *CH* I.14 [fragment];
f^{c(2)} [*cf.* Ker §81]: *CH* I.17 and 20 [both fragments];
f^d [Ker §117.4]: *CH* I.26 [fragment];
f^{e(1)} [Ker §118.1–3]: *CH* I.27 [fragment], 28 [fragments], and 29 [imperfect];
f^{e(2)} [not in Ker]: *CH* I.22 [fragment];
f^{e(3)} [not in Ker]: *CH* I.26 [fragment] and 35–7 [all imperfect];
f^h [Ker §174]: *CH* I.29 [fragment];
fⁱ⁽¹⁾ [Ker §177A.1 and 24]: *CH* I.1 [fragments] and 25 [destroyed];
f^k [Ker §222.11, 3, 12, 36, 1, 44, 23, 35, 6, 19, 24, and 22]: *CH* I.3, 4 [destroyed], 5 [fragments], 13 [destroyed], 26 [fragment], 27 [imperfect], 29 [imperfect], 30 [fragments], 31 [imperfect], 34 [fragment], 37 [imperfect], and 38 [fragment];
f^l [Ker §235]: *CH* I.3 [imperfect] and 4 [fragment];
f^{m(1)} [Ker §243.2]: *CH* I.28 [fragments];
f^{m(2)} [Ker §243.1]: *CH* I.20 [fragment]; and
f^q [Ker §352]: *CH* I.1 [fragment]

	A	B	C	D1	D2	E	F	G	H	I1	I2	K	L	M	N	O	P1	Q	R1	R2	S	T1	T2	T3	U	V1b	V2	X ^g	X ⁱ	f ⁽²⁾	f ⁽²⁾	f ^d	f ⁽³⁾	f ⁽³⁾	f ^b	f ^k	f ^l	f ^{m(1)}	f ^{m(2)}	f ^q		
26	α	ε ²	α	β	β	β	β ^e	γH ¹				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}				α ^e							ε ^{4bf}			γK ²ⁱ						
27	α	ε ²	α	β	β	β	β ^e	γH ¹				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}											(ε ^{4bf}) ⁱ			(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ						
28	α	ε ²	β	β	β	β	β	γH ¹				γK ⁴		(δ ^{4e})			ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}				ζ ⁱ							ε ^{4bf}							β ^f			
29	α	ε ²	α	β	β	β		γH ¹				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4ai}	ε ^{4ai}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}										(ε ^{4bf}) ⁱ		U ^f	(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ							
30	α	ε ²					β	γH				γK ⁴ⁱ					ε ^{4ai}	ε ^{4ai}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}													(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ						
31	α	ε ²			γK ^{2e}			γH				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}													(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ						
32	α		ε ³				β	γH				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}																					
33	α	ε ²	β	β	β	β	β	γH				γK ⁴					ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}		ε ^{4b}																			
34	α	ε ²	(ε ^{4b})		β	β	β ^e	γH				γK ⁴					ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}													(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ						
35	α	ε ²	β	β	β	β	β	γH				γK ⁴ⁱ		(δ ^{4e})			ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}		ε ^{4b}																			
36	α	ε ²	β	β	β	β	β ^e	γH			γK ^{4e}	γK ⁴					ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}	ε ^{4b}																			
37	α		β	β	β	β	β ^e	γH				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}		ε ^{4b}														(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ					
38	α	ε ^{2e}	β, ε ^{2e} or 4b	β	β			γH				γK ⁴	γK ^{3e}				ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}			ε ^{4b}		ε ^{4b}														(ε ^{4b}) ⁱ					
39	α	ε ²		β	β	β	β	γH				γK ⁴			β		ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}					ε ³ (ε ^{4bf}) ⁱ																			
40	α	ε ²		β	β	β	β	γH				γK ⁴ⁱ			β		ε ^{4a}	ε ^{4a}					ε ³																			

d = destroyed by fire; e = extract(s) [part(s) of the homily preserved, e.g., as an independent composition or as part of a composite text]; f = fragment(s) [extant remains from not more than one folio (as per Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. xix–xxii)]; i = imperfect [part of the homily lost since MS written]; () = probably or possibly disseminated in this phase; γH = witness to Phase γ^1 (Ha-type); γK^{1-4} = witness to Phase γ^2 (K-type), Archetypes 1–4; ε^{4a} or b = witness to Phase ε , Stage 4a or 4b; ε^i = witness to Phase ε , Indeterminate; U = Phase Uncertain. See also Appendix 1.

Table 6 First Series Dates

	<i>CH I</i>	[<i>CH II</i>]
989	Completion of composition and first organization	Between [A] <i>ca</i> July x December 989 and [B] <i>ca</i> 991
January–June 990	Phase α (production of MS A)	
July–December 990	Revision of MS A; production of Æthelweard's [lost] copy of <i>CH I</i> (phase β); production of Sigeric's copy of <i>CH I</i> (phase β)	
January x June 991	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces to <i>CH I</i> (including Latin note at <i>CH I</i> .pref., apparatus for line 134); augmented Phase β copy of <i>CH I</i> sent to Æthelweard; original Phase β copy of <i>CH I</i> sent to Sigeric	
Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992	Phase γ^1 (Ha-type)	Completion of composition and organization; production of Sigeric's copy
January x June 992		Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces; <i>CH II</i> sent to Sigeric
<i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) – <i>ca</i> 998		First Recension, Archetypes 1–5
Between [A] <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) and [2] <i>ca</i> 998 x 1002	Phase γ^2 (K-type)	
Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005	<i>TH I</i> / phase δ^1 and δ^2 [if authorial]; Phases ϵ^1 , ϵ^2 , and ϵ^3 (perhaps) [if authorial]	First Recension, Archetypes 6–8
<i>ca</i> 1005–6	Phase ϵ^3 (probably)	
Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)		Second Recension, Archetype 1
<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)	<i>TH II</i> ; Phases ζ and ϵ^4	Second Recension, Archetypes 2–3
<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010		Second Recension, Archetypes 4–5

- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 173–562; Latin and Old English prefaces also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 107–10.
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Fragments of *CH* I.26, I.35, I.36, and I.37 are found in Fausbøll, *Ælfric Fragments*, pp. 42–89; the whole from A is printed by Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*. Complete sets of manuscript images are available as follows:
A, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_7_C_XII;
C, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>;
E, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315>;
F, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>;
H, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V;
L, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>;
O, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>;
Q, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275>;
R1, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>;
R2, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>;
U, <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=235>;
V1b and V2, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pz542dy6146>; and
fa(2), <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/hp566jq8781>.
- Translation: Ælfric's Latin preface is translated by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 127–8; *CH* I.7 and I.18 by Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, pp. 136–43 and 143–9; and all the Old English texts by Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 3–619.
- Notes: Clemoes' revision of his doctoral dissertation, edited and published posthumously by Malcolm Godden, discusses the development and dissemination of Ælfric's first collection of homilies, tracing six phases during which Ælfric revised, supplemented, and reorganized his work.¹⁶ Clemoes prints the text based on A, with passages supplied from K – the source for Thorpe's nineteenth-century edition – and variants collated from some thirty-two other manuscripts. Like Godden in his edition of the Second Series [1.2 below], Clemoes includes the Gospel pericopes, omitted by Thorpe, with which Ælfric introduces a number of his homilies.
- On the immediate sources for the *Catholic Homilies*, see especially Smetana ('Medieval Homiliary' and 'Patristic Anthology') and Hill ('Smaragdus' and 'Sources Reconsidered'); for its composition, content, and sources, see now the comprehensive study by Godden (*Commentary*). For subject indices of the homilies, see DiNapoli,

¹⁶ For Ælfric's later collections of homilies for the Temporale [*TH* I and II], which integrate material from *CH* I and II with homilies for Sundays not covered by the *Catholic Homilies*, see 1.4 and 1.5 below.

Nathan Nelson, and Dunn. For the reception and adaptation of the homilies from the late tenth to the twelfth century, see for example Swan, 'Ælfric as Source'.

1.2. [B.1.2] *Catholic Homilies II* [CH II]¹⁷

Overview: In addition to the homilies and Ælfric's Latin and Old English prefaces, Godden's edition of the Second Series includes a number of personal asides or interpolations by Ælfric: the Latin *Ammonitio* [CH II.pref.50–71; not to be confused with the *Admonitio* (2.2 below)], warning against drunkenness; *De sancta Maria* [Second Series, p. 271, lines 1–10; B.1.2.39], explaining his reluctance to discuss the origins of Mary; *Excusatio dictantis* [Second Series, pp. 297–8, lines 1–17; B.1.2.43], explaining his decision not to include the passion of Thomas (but cf. LS 32 [Skeat II.36]); *Explicit* [CH II.40.318–19], summarily concluding the Second Series; and *Oratio* [Second Series, p. 345, lines 1–12; B.1.2.50], where he reaffirms that the homilies are to educate the unlearned, refuses to undertake such translation again, and exhorts future scribes to produce accurate copies.¹⁸ Clemoes and Pope list such texts under 'Miscellanea' (section 7 below), but their content and presence in CH II manuscripts would associate them more with the *Catholic Homilies* than an independent textual tradition.

Date: Second Series: Again, while Ælfric revised and disseminated his collection over a number of years, we may date the completion of Ælfric's initial composition and first organization of CH II to the period between January x June 991 and January x June 992.

Latin and Old English Prefaces: January x June 992

De sancta Maria and *Excusatio dictantis*: Between [A] 992, after January x June, and [B] ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 995; Archetype 1b, First Recension of CH II

Ammonitio, *Explicit*, and *Oratio*: Between [A] 992, after January x June, and [B] ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 995; Archetype 2, First Recension of CH II

Clemones does not date the interpolations, but they appear in MS K alongside creeds and prayers [4.4.2, 7.6, 7.10–11, and 7.13 below] which Clemones says 'were likely to have been written directly after Sigeric was sent CH II' – that is, 992, after January x June. As Godden speaks of all the above as 'belonging to the same early period in [Ælfric's] career', this span may serve as a *terminus post quem*,

¹⁷ Or *Liber sermonum catholicorum Anglic[ae] in anno secundo* (Clemones, *First Series*, p. 178).

¹⁸ *Second Series*, pp. 2, 271, 297–8, and 345; for analysis, see Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 345–6, 604–5, 633–4, and 669.

if not an actual date for the interpolations' composition.¹⁹ They could have been composed slightly later, however. The *Ammonitio*, *Explicit* and *Oratio* appear for the first time in K, part of the early stages of First Recension CH II dissemination, datable to *ca* 993 (after 4 June) – *ca* 998; the manuscript also contains the earliest copy of Ælfric's *Letter for Wulfsige* (Fehr I), composed between *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and *ca* 995. While K represents Archetype 2 of the First Recension, moreover, *De sancta Maria* and *Excusatio dictantis* also appear in manuscripts from Archetype 1b, produced slightly earlier in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) – *ca* 998 (and preceding the *Letter* in *ca* 993 [after 4 June] x *ca* 995). We may thus position the texts slightly earlier or later in the span between [A] 992, after January x June, and [B] *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 995.

MSS:

- B [Ker §310.35, 75, 25–4, 26, 58, 1, 2 and 82, 59, 19–20, 11, 4, 17, 60, 62–3, and 73]: CH II.3–4, 5 [parts reversed], 6, 24 [extract], 25 [imperfect], 26 [imperfect homily, plus extract (*De auaritia* / Belfour 13)], 27 [extract], 28–31, 32 [extract], and 37–40;
- C [Ker §57.1, 3–5, 8, 12–13, 46, 51–2, 54–5, 57, 58–9, and 35–8]: CH II.4 [imperfect], 5–6, 8, 13–14, 22–3, 25–6, 28, 31, *De sancta Maria*, and 35–8;
- D1 [Ker §§309.15–16, 18, 11–13, and 30–2]: CH II.5–7, 9–11, and 17–18;
- D2 [Ker §309.77, 76, 35, 37–9, 41, 45–6, 49–50, 54–5, 57–60, and 63–9]: CH II.5 [extract] and 7 [extract],²⁰ 19–28, 31, *De sancta Maria*, *Excusatio dictantis*, and 35–40;
- E [Ker §48.8, 15–16, 18, 44, 11–13, 45–8, 30–2, 36–7, 39–40, 58, 56–7, and 49–51]: CH II.4–11, 13, 15–18, 23–4, 27 [extract], 34, *Excusatio dictantis*, 37–8, and 39 [imperfect];
- F [Ker §38.9, 11–12, 16, 18, 7–8, 25, 27, 32, 5, 41–2, 44–5, and 47–9]: CH II.4–8, 12–14, 15 [abbreviated extracts], 19, 23, 25–6, 28, 31, and *De sancta Maria*;
- G [Ker §209.37–9, 13, 12, 15, 17, 42 and 23 [additional copy of CH II.30.157–9], and 21]: CH II.20–1, 24 [extract], 27 [extract], 28, 29 [extract], 30 [full homily and extract], and 32 [extract];
- H [Ker §220.15, 30, 45, 34–5, 44, 48, and 46]: CH II.8, CH II.23, SH II.17 (incorporating CH II.23.127–8 and 131–97)), CH II.25, 26, 28, 29, and 31 [all imperfect at edges of leaves];
- J2 [Ker §283.5–6]: CH II.1 [extract] and 40 [extracts];
- K [Ker §15.43–91]: CH II Latin preface, Old English preface, and Latin *Ammonitio*, 1–10, 11 [imperfect], 12–20, 21 [imperfect], 22–31,

¹⁹ See Clemons, *First Series*, p. 161; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. xliii.

²⁰ Godden says that these incomplete copies of CH II.5 and 7 in D2 [Ker §309.77 and 76] (which appear in addition to the full copies of the homilies in D1 [Ker §309.18 and 15]) 'belong to the same textual tradition as D and the related manuscripts E and F, but do not seem to have been copied from D itself and there is insufficient evidence to establish the relationship more precisely' (*Second Series*, p. xxviii).

- De sancta Maria*, 32–4, *Excusatio dictantis*, 35–40, *Explicit*, and *Oratio*;
- L [Ker §18.25, 5, 2, 12–13, 43, 15, 30, and 16–17]: *CH* II.9 [imperfect], 11, 13, 17, 21 [extract], 27 [extract], 30, 32 [extract], and 33;
- M [Ker §21.1, 4–5, 9–10, 13–14, 16–18, 20–2, 28, 30, 3, and 28 [again]]: *CH* II.4 [imperfect], 5–8, 12–16, 19 [extracts], 22, 23 [extract], and 39 [extract];
- N [Ker §153.1, 7–9, 12, 13, 16–17, 19, 22, and 26–8]: *CH* II.4 [imperfect], 5–8, 12 [extract], and 13–16;
- O [Ker §56.13–15, 19–20, 23, 26, and 28]: *CH* II.5–8, 13–14, and 15 [imperfect];
- P1 [Ker §332.7–10 and 21–6]: *CH* II.19–21, 35–7, 38 [imperfect], 39 [imperfect], and 40;
- R1 [Ker §41A.23, 25, 26–7, 30, 17, 10, 10, and 16]: *CH* II.3, 7, 14, 22, 26 [extract (*De auaritia* / Belfour 13)], 28, *SH* II.26 and *SH* II.30.75–114 [augmented *CH* II.28], and *CH* II.39 [extract];
- T1 [Ker §331.33]: *CH* II.1;
- T2 [Ker §331.43, 59, 83, 48, 60–3, and 84]: *CH* II.7 [extracts], 9, 13 [extract], 14, 17–18, and *SH* II.23 [augmentation to *CH* II.18];
- T3 [Ker §338.35]: *CH* II.29;
- U [Ker §86.27, 20, and 25–6]: *CH* II.16, 23 [extract], and 25–6;
- V2 [Ker §69.2–5]: *CH* II.35 and 37–9;
- X^a [Ker §45B.18]: *CH* II.36;
- X^c [Ker §154.4]: *CH* II.9 [adapted extracts];
- X^e [Ker §186.16]: *CH* II.14 [‘a very corrupt and interpolated text’],²¹
- f^{a(2)} [Ker §63.2 and 8]: *CH* II.16 [imperfect] and 32 [imperfect];
- f^b [Ker §74.2–3]:²² *CH* II.19 [imperfect], 22 [imperfect], 26 [extract (*De auaritia* / Belfour 13)], and 28 [imperfect];
- f^d [Ker §117.5]: *CH* II.24 [imperfect];
- fⁱ⁽¹⁾ [Ker §177A.14–15 [destroyed]]: *CH* II.31 [destroyed];
- f^k [Ker §222.10, 18, 16, 4–5, 20, 2, 15, 7, 17, and 39–41 [36, 38, 40]]: *CH* II.2, 9, 11, 17–18, 27, 32–4, 36, 38, and 40 [all imperfect]; and
- f^p [Ker §336.5]: *CH* II.7

²¹ Godden, *Second Series*, p. 137.

²² Ker §74.2–3 discuss f^b’s imperfect copies of *CH* II.19 and 28; for a fuller discussion of the portions of *CH* II.22 and 26 as well, see Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 89–90; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 53–4; and Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

	B	C	D1	D2	E	F	G	H	J1	J2	K	L	M	N	O	P1	R1	T1	T2	T3	U	V2	X ^a	X ^c	X ^e	f ⁽²⁾	f ^b	f ^d	f ⁽¹⁾	f ^k	f ^p
CH II.26	F1 ^{ai} S4 ^e	F1 ^b		F1 ^b		F1 ^b		S2 ⁱ			F2						S4 ^e				S3					S5 ^e					
CH II.27	F4 ^e			F1 ^b	(F1 ^{be} , F8 ^{ce})		(F1 ^{be})				F2	F3 ⁱ																		F2 ⁱ	
CH II.28	F1 ^a	F1 ^b		F1 ^b		F1 ^b	F1 ^a	S2 ⁱ			F2						S4									S5 ⁱ					
CH II.29	F1 ^a						F1 ^{ae}	S2 ⁱ			F2									U											
CH II.30	F1 ^a						F1 ^a , F1 ^{ae}				F2	F3																			
CH II.31	F1 ^{ai}	F1 ^b		F1 ^b		F1 ^b		S2 ⁱ			F2																		X ^d		
<i>De sancta Maria</i>		F1 ^b		F1 ^b		F1 ^b					F2																				
CH II.32	F1 ^{ae}						F1 ^{ae}				F2	F3 ⁱ													F6 ⁱ					F2 ⁱ	
CH II.33											F2	F3																		F2 ⁱ	
CH II.34					F8						F2																			F2 ⁱ	
<i>Excusatio dictantis</i>				F1 ^b	F8						F2																				
CH II.35		F1 ^b		F1 ^b							F2					S1						S6								F2 ⁱ	
CH II.36		F1 ^b		F1 ^b							F2					S1							S6								F2 ⁱ
CH II.37	F4	F1 ^b		F1 ^b	F8						F2					S1						S6									
CH II.38	F4	F1 ^b		F1 ^b	F8						F2					S1 ⁱ						S6								F2 ⁱ	
CH II.39	F4			F1 ^b	F8 ⁱ						F2					S1 ⁱ						S6									
CH II.40	(F4)			F1 ^b						F4 ^e	F2		F6 ^c			S1 ⁱ	S4 ^e													F2 ⁱ	
<i>Explicit</i>											F2					S1															
<i>Oratio</i>											F2																				

d = destroyed by fire; e = extract(s) [part(s) of the homily preserved, e.g., as an independent composition or as part of a composite text]; i = imperfect [part of the homily lost since MS written]; 0 = probably or possibly disseminated in this phase; F1^{a or b} = First Recension, Archetypes 1a or 1b; F1^u = First Recension, Archetype 1, either 1a or 1b (uncertain); F2–8 = First Recension, Archetypes 2–8; Fu = First Recension, Unknown Archetype; S1–6 = Second Recension, Archetypes 1–6; and U = Uncertain Recension and Archetype. See also Appendix 2.

Table 8 Second Series Dates

	[CH I]	CH II
989	Completion of composition and first organization	Between [A] <i>ca</i> July x December 989 and [B] <i>ca</i> 991 First organization of CH II
January–June 990	Phase α (production of MS A)	
July–December 990	Revision of MS A; production of Æthelweard's [lost] copy of CH I (phase β); production of Sigeric's copy of CH I (phase β)	
January x June 991	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces to CH I (including Latin note at CH I.pref., apparatus for line 134); augmented Phase β copy of CH I sent to Æthelweard; original Phase β copy of CH I sent to Sigeric	
Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992	Phase γ^1 (Ha-type)	Completion of composition and first organization; production of Sigeric's copy
January x June 992		Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces; CH II sent to Sigeric
<i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) – <i>ca</i> 998		First Recension, Archetypes 1–5
Between [A] <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) and [2] <i>ca</i> 998 x 1002	Phase γ^2 (K-type)	
Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005	TH I / phase δ^1 and δ^2 [if authorial]; Phases ϵ^1 , ϵ^2 , and ϵ^3 (perhaps) [if authorial]	First Recension, Archetypes 6–8
<i>ca</i> 1005–6	Phase ϵ^3 (probably)	
Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)		Second Recension, Archetype 1
<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)	TH II; Phases ζ and ϵ^4	Second Recension, Archetypes 2–3
<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010		Second Recension, Archetypes 4–5

- Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, pp. 1–390; Latin and Old English prefaces, *Ammonitio*, *De sancta Maria*, *Excusatio dictantis*, and *Oratio* also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 111–14.
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: A portion of *CH* II.30 (lines 165–202) from MS K printed by Godden, *Second Series*, frontispiece. Complete sets of manuscript images are available as follows:
C, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>;
E, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315>;
F, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>;
H, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V;
L, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>;
O, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>;
R1, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>;
U, <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=235>;
V2, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pz542dy6146>;
X^a, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>;
X^c, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Faustina_A_X; and
fa⁽²⁾, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/hp566jq8781>.
- Translation: The *Ammonitio* is translated by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 129–30; Ælfric’s first homily for Easter (*CH* II.15) by Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, pp. 149–57; and the whole of the collection by Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 3–595, excluding the *Ammonitio*, *De sancta Maria*, *Excusatio dictantis*, *Explicit*, and *Oratio* (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 5, 467, 521, and 595).
- Notes: Godden provides the standard edition of the *Second Series*, drawing not only on MS K, but twenty-six other known copies of Ælfric’s work; the introduction reconstructs Ælfric’s ongoing revision of his text. A further volume by Godden (*Commentary*) provides a general introduction, analysis of sources and content, and a glossary for both *CH* I and II. An additional edition of Ælfric’s *Lives of Cuthbert, Gregory, and Martin* (*CH* II.10, 9, and 34) has been done by Masi (‘Three Homilies’).
- Note that where Godden organizes *CH* II into forty homilies, Thorpe lists forty-five. References in scholarship prior to 1979 may thus need to be updated to Godden’s system of numbering, as follows:

Table 9 Second Series Homilies in Thorpe and Godden

<i>Thorpe II</i>	<i>Godden</i>
<i>CH II</i> , Latin preface (pp. 1–3) ²³	<i>CH II</i> .pref.1–28
<i>CH II</i> , Old English preface (p. 2)	<i>CH II</i> .pref.29–49
<i>Ammonitio</i> (pp. 4–5)	<i>Ammonitio</i> (<i>CH II</i> .pref.50–71)
<i>CH II.1</i> (pp. 4–22)	<i>CH II.1</i>
<i>CH II.2</i> (pp. 24–36)	<i>CH II.2</i>
<i>CH II.3</i> (pp. 36–52)	<i>CH II.3</i>
<i>CH II.4</i> (pp. 54–72)	<i>CH II.4</i>
<i>CH II.5</i> (pp. 72–88)	<i>CH II.5</i>
<i>CH II.6</i> (pp. 88–98)	<i>CH II.6</i>
<i>CH II.7</i> (pp. 98–108)	<i>CH II.7</i>
<i>CH II.8</i> (pp. 110–16)	<i>CH II.8</i>
<i>CH II.9</i> (pp. 116–32)	<i>CH II.9</i>
<i>CH II.10</i> (pp. 132–54)	<i>CH II.10</i>
<i>CH II.11</i> (pp. 154–88)	<i>CH II.11</i>
<i>CH II.12</i> , pts. 1–2 (pp. 188–212, 212–24)	<i>CH II.12</i> , pts. 1–2 (lines 1–373, 374–582)
<i>CH II.13</i> (pp. 224–40)	<i>CH II.13</i>
<i>CH II.14</i> (pp. 240–62)	<i>CH II.14</i> and Appendix (pp. 381–90)
<i>CH II.15</i> (pp. 262–80)	<i>CH II.15</i>
<i>CH II.16</i> (pp. 280–6)	<i>CH II.16</i> , lines 1–97
<i>CH II.17</i> (pp. 288–94)	<i>CH II.16</i> , lines 98–225
<i>CH II.18</i> , pts. 1–2 (pp. 294–8, 298–302)	<i>CH II.17</i> , pts. 1–2 (lines 1–60, 61–135)
<i>CH II.19</i> (pp. 302–6)	<i>CH II.18</i> , lines 1–61
<i>CH II.20</i> (pp. 308–12)	<i>CH II.18</i> , lines 63–156 [and <i>SH II.23</i>]
<i>CH II.21</i> (pp. 314–32)	<i>CH II.19</i> [and <i>SH II.24</i>]
<i>CH II.22</i> (pp. 332–48)	<i>CH II.20</i>

²³ Pages are given for items in Thorpe as he does not reference them by homily number [e.g., *CH II.23*].

<i>Thorpe II</i>	<i>Godden</i>
<i>CH</i> II.23 (pp. 348–56)	<i>CH</i> II.21, lines 1–137
<i>CH</i> II.24 (pp. 356–8)	<i>CH</i> II.21, lines 138–80
<i>CH</i> II.25 (pp. 360–70)	<i>CH</i> II.22 [and <i>SH</i> II.25]
<i>CH</i> II.26 (pp. 370–8)	<i>CH</i> II.23, lines 1–125
<i>CH</i> II.27 (pp. 378–80)	<i>CH</i> II.23, lines 126–98 [and <i>SH</i> II.17.203–76] ²⁴
<i>CH</i> II.28, pts. 1–2 (pp. 380–4, 384–94)	<i>CH</i> II.24, pts. 1–2 (lines 1–52, 53–253)
<i>CH</i> II.29 (pp. 394–402)	<i>CH</i> II.25
<i>CH</i> II.30 (pp. 404–12)	<i>CH</i> II.26
<i>CH</i> II.31 (pp. 412–24)	<i>CH</i> II.27, lines 1–181
<i>CH</i> II.32 (pp. 424–6)	<i>CH</i> II.27, lines 182–231
<i>CH</i> II.33 (pp. 426–36)	<i>CH</i> II.28 [and <i>SH</i> II.26]
<i>CH</i> II.34 (pp. 438–44)	<i>CH</i> II.29
<i>CH</i> II.35 (pp. 446–60)	<i>CH</i> II.30
<i>CH</i> II.36 (pp. 460–6)	<i>CH</i> II.31 [and <i>SH</i> II.27]
<i>De sancta Maria</i> (p. 466)	<i>De sancta Maria</i> (p. 271, lines 1–10)
<i>CH</i> II.37, pts. 1–2 (pp. 468–72, 472–80)	<i>CH</i> II.32, pts. 1–2 (lines 1–79, 80–225)
<i>CH</i> II.38 (pp. 480–98)	<i>CH</i> II.33
<i>CH</i> II.39, pts. 1–2 (pp. 498–514, 516–18)	<i>CH</i> II.34, pts. 1–2 (lines 1–268, 269–332)
<i>Excusatio dictantis</i> (p. 520)	<i>Excusatio dictantis</i> (pp. 297–8, lines 1–17)
<i>CH</i> II.40 (pp. 520–8)	<i>CH</i> II.35 [and <i>SH</i> II.28]
<i>CH</i> II.41 (pp. 528–36)	<i>CH</i> II.36
<i>CH</i> II.42 (pp. 536–48)	<i>CH</i> II.37
<i>CH</i> II.43 (pp. 548–62)	<i>CH</i> II.38
<i>CH</i> II.44 (pp. 562–74)	<i>CH</i> II.39
<i>CH</i> II.45 (pp. 574–94)	<i>CH</i> II.40
<i>Explicit</i> (p. 594)	<i>Explicit</i> (p. 345)
<i>Oratio</i> (p. 594)	<i>Oratio</i> (p. 345, lines 1–12)

²⁴ *SH* II.17.203–76 incorporates *CH* II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 28 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnyss*).

Two other manuscripts should be mentioned in keeping with the Second Series. Cologny-Geneve, Switzerland, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Bodmer 2, to begin with, from the later eleventh century,²⁵ is a leaf containing a fragment of 'a substantially rewritten version' of *CH* II.5.5 ([*ærneme*]*r[i]gen*) – 23 (*oðre*) and 28 (*unc*) – 44 (*geswu[telod]*).²⁶ 'Unlike the other manuscripts of the homily', Ker notes, Bodmer 2 'does not set out to be a faithful transcript of what Ælfric wrote.'²⁷ Rather, Swan suggests, its forty-plus variant readings 'seem to show either an incomplete understanding of the Ælfric text or, perhaps more likely, the intention of producing a version of [*CH* II.5] without rigorous reproduction of the language or more complex details of Ælfric's text'.²⁸ Such parallels as do remain suggest that Bodmer's exemplar may have derived from the First Recension, Archetype 1 (and perhaps, more specifically, 1b),²⁹ but the result is more an adaptation than a direct witness to Ælfric's original. Oxford, Bodleian Auctarium F. 4. 32 (2176), next of all, contains a sermon *In inuentione sanctae crucis* that was copied in the second half of the eleventh century;³⁰ on fols 10rv of the manuscript, three extracts appear that ultimately derive from *CH* II.18.6 (*se*) – 7 (*gefullod*), 10 (*ferde*) – 11 (*fultum*) and 15 (*he*) – 17 (*wurðmynte*).³¹ The variants in this version do not correspond to readings in the five manuscripts cited by Godden,³² Bodden considers idiosyncratic words therein as additions by the Auctarium scribe,³³ and Swan speaks of the reproduced snippets as memorial reconstructions, saying: 'It is hard to account for its compiler's decision to choose three relatively unimportant excerpts from the early part of [*CH* II.18], which add little of any importance in terms of plot or theme, whilst ignoring the rest of the Ælfrician version, unless this is the result of the compiler using the Ælfric material from a memory of the opening of [*CH* II.18]' (153). While worth acknowledging as part of the Second Series' legacy, therefore, neither the Auctarium nor the Bodmer 2 readings need be reckoned as part of the Series' direct dissemination.

²⁵ Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 165; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 347 [§285, under the name of the manuscript's former owner, 'Mr. Wilfred Merton, Slindon, Sussex'].

²⁶ Godden, *Second Series*, p. 348; text on pp. 41–2.

²⁷ Ker, 'Bodmer Fragment', p. 77.

²⁸ Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 167.

²⁹ Following Ker, Godden notes that Bodmer 2 'shows textual similarities' to MSS C(a) [First Recension, Archetype 1a] and B(d), D1, D2, E(a), and F(b) [all First Recension, Archetype 1b] rather than to MSS K [First Recension, Archetype 2], M [First Recension, Archetype 6], or NO [First Recension, Archetype 7] (*Second Series*, p. 349; Ker, 'Bodmer Fragment', p. 79); Ker specifically uses D1 as his base text to show Bodmer 2's departures ('Bodmer Fragment', pp. 80–3).

³⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 298 [§297]; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 148.

³¹ For these passages (lines 6–8, 14–15, and 28–31 in the edition by Bodden, *Finding*, pp. 61–5), see Bodden, *Finding*, pp. 48–50; Godden, *Second Series*, p. 362; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 148–53.

³² *Second Series*, p. 174.

³³ *Finding*, p. 50.

1.3. [B.1.4] Supplementary Homilies [SH] I and II

- Overview:** Pope here edits all the texts listed as unpublished in Clemoes' 'Chronology' save for *De creatore et creatura* and *De sex etatibus huius seculi* [2.1.6 and 2.1.7 below]. Many are compositions for occasions not covered by the *Catholic Homilies*; seven, however, are later additions to *CH* II or the *Lives of Saints* (*SH* II.23–9, comprising additions to *CH* II.18, 19, 22, 28, 31, and 35, and *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17]). Pope provides a glossary for the homilies and an informative introduction, discussing not only such particulars as the manuscripts, date, and sources of the texts, but larger issues such as the development of Ælfric's rhythmical prose.
- Date:** The texts are drawn from the whole span of Ælfric's career following his composition of the *Catholic Homilies* and may be dated as follows:³⁴

Table 10 Supplementary Homilies Dates

By Date

<i>SH</i> II.17.203–76 [= <i>CH</i> II.23.127 (<i>we wyllað</i>) – 128 (<i>geleafan</i>) and 131 (<i>Ure drihten</i>) – 197 (<i>gehealtsumnysse</i>)]	January x June 992
<i>Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin</i> [including <i>SH</i> I.11a.197–234]	Earlier in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998 [or <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)]
<i>SH</i> II.19.1–130	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> II.25	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998 [included in augmented <i>CH</i> II.22 <i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010]
<i>SH</i> II.21.141–9	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> II.29.36–128 (perhaps)	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> II.30.75–114	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> II.21	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> I.4 [Müller]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998

³⁴ Notes for all these homilies may be found in Appendix 4.

SH I.2	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
SH I.3	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
SH I.5	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> I [UK 3 / SH I.6.1–208 and 292–373]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
SH II.19	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
SH II.20	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
SH II.18	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
SH II.22	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
SH I.7	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
SH I.8 [Belfour 2]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
SH I.9	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
SH I.10	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
SH I.12 [Belfour 1]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> II [UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 [or possibly <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)]
<i>Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa</i> * [UK 6; Napier 8 and SH II.19]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
SH I.11	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
Revised and Augmented CH II.19 [augmentation now SH II.24]	Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Augmented CH II.39 [SH II.28]	Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
SH I.1	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [possibly between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005]
SH I.7.94–161	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)

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Augmented <i>LS</i> 16 [<i>Skeat</i> I.17] [<i>SH</i> II.29]*	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [or perhaps later in the period 1006–10]
<i>SH</i> II.13	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.14	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [as late as (1009 x 1010)]
<i>SH</i> II.15	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.16	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Revised <i>CH</i> II.28 [<i>SH</i> II.26]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.17	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Revised <i>CH</i> II.31 [<i>SH</i> II.27]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> I.11a*	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Augmented <i>SH</i> II.21	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [or possibly later in the period 1006–10]
<i>SH</i> II.30.1–74	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Augmented <i>CH</i> II.28* [<i>SH</i> II.26 and <i>SH</i> II.30.75–114]	<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010
Augmented <i>CH</i> II.18 [<i>SH</i> II.23]	<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010

By Pope Number

<i>SH</i> I.1	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [possibly between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005]
<i>SH</i> I.2	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> I.3	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> I.4 [Müller]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> I.5	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> I [UK 3 / <i>SH</i> I.6.1–208 and 292–373]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> II [UK 3 / <i>SH</i> I.6.209–91]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 [or possibly <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)]
<i>SH</i> I.7	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> I.7.94–161	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)

The Ælfrian Canon

<i>SH</i> I.8 [Belfour 2]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> I.9	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> I.10	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> I.11	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> I.11a*	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Augmented <i>Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin</i> [including <i>SH</i> I.11a.197–234]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [or perhaps earlier in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998]
<i>SH</i> I.12 [Belfour 1]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> II.13	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.14	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [as late as 1009 x 1010]
<i>SH</i> II.15	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.16	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.17.203–76 [= <i>CH</i> II.23.127 (<i>we wyllað</i>) – 128 (<i>geleafan</i>) and 131 (<i>Ure drihten</i>) – 197 (<i>gehealtsummysse</i>)]	January x June 992
<i>SH</i> II.17	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.18	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
<i>SH</i> II.19.1–130	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> II.19	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa</i> * [UK 6; Napier 8 and <i>SH</i> II.19]	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
<i>SH</i> II.20	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
<i>SH</i> II.21.141–9	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>SH</i> II.21	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
Augmented <i>SH</i> II.21	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [or possibly later in the period 1006–10]
<i>SH</i> II.22	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
Augmented <i>CH</i> II.18 [<i>SH</i> II.23]	<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010

Revised and Augmented <i>CH</i> II.19 [augmentation now <i>SH</i> II.24]	Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.25	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998 [included in augmented <i>CH</i> II.22 <i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010]
Revised <i>CH</i> II.28 [<i>SH</i> II.26]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Augmented <i>CH</i> II.28* [<i>SH</i> II.26 and <i>SH</i> II.30.75–114]	<i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010
Revised <i>CH</i> II.31 [<i>SH</i> II.27]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
Augmented <i>CH</i> II.39 [<i>SH</i> II.28]	Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] <i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.29.36–128 (perhaps)	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
Augmented <i>LS</i> 16 [Skeat I.17] [<i>SH</i> II.29]*	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [or perhaps later in the period 1006–10]
<i>SH</i> II.30.1–74	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>SH</i> II.30.75–114	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998 [included with <i>SH</i> II.26 in augmented <i>CH</i> II.28* <i>ca</i> 1009 – <i>ca</i> 1010]

- MSS:
- B [Ker §310.83, 8, and 7]: *SH* I.6 [*Lazarus* III (UK 3 / Belfour 14)], 8, and 12;
 - C [Ker §57.9, 11, 41, 52, 64, and 65]: *SH* I.4, 6 [*Lazarus* I (UK 3)], and 11; and II.17 [extract], 19, and 21 [extracts];
 - D2 [Ker §309.46]: *SH* II.17 [extract];
 - E [Ker §48.63 and 37]: *SH* I.4 and II.17 [extract];
 - F [Ker §38.17, 20, 21, 22, 24, and 42]: *SH* I.2–3, 4 [rubric and opening words], 5, and 6 [*Lazarus* I (UK 3)]; and II.17 [extract];
 - G [Ker §209.20 and 15]: *SH* I.4 [extract] and II.21 [extract];
 - H [Ker §220.63–6]: *SH* I.2–3, 5, and 6 [*Lazarus* I (UK 3); ending imperfect] [all additions; all imperfect at edges of leaves];
 - Hc [interpolations:³⁵ Ker §220.4, 16, 66, 1, 31–3, 36, 45, 44, and 46]: *SH* I.1, 4, 6 [*Lazarus* II (UK 3)], and 11a;³⁶ and II.13–17 and 26–7 [all imperfect at edges of leaves];
 - J1 [Ker §144.8]: *SH* I.8 [extract];
 - K [Ker §15.71]: *SH* II.17 [extract];

³⁵ Additions as opposed to replacements of existing text; see Clemons, *First Series*, p. 21.

³⁶ A copy of *SH* I.11a.1–177 was also added in s. xvi; see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 286.

- L [Ker §18.34]: *SH* II.21 [extracts];
M [Ker §21.11, 25–6, 32, 34, 27, 35, and 3]: *SH* I.4, 7 [imperfect], 8–10, 11 [extract], and 12; and II.17 [extract];
N [Ker §153.14, 32, 33, 36, 38, and 31]: *SH* I.4 and 7 [imperfect], 8–10; and II.19 [extracts];
O [Ker §56.21]: *SH* I.4;
P1 [Ker §332.12, 27, 4, 6, 29, 17, 7, and 25]: *SH* I.6³⁷ and 11a [extracts]; and II.18–20, 22, 24, and 28;
Q [Ker §43.12, 23, and 46]: *SH* I.4 and 11; and II.18 [title and first two lines erased; remainder lost];
R1 [Ker §41A.6, 9, 18, 30, 10, 8, and 10 [again]]: *SH* I.11 and II.18, 21,³⁸ 25–6, 29, and 30 [extract];
R2 [Ker §41A.3]: *SH* I.11a [extract];
S [Ker §333.25, 18, 21, and 20]: *SH* I.6³⁹ and 11a [extract]; and II.21 [extracts] and 29;
T1 [Ker §331.32 and 16]: *SH* I.11 and II.21 [Wulfstan's revision and abridgement];
T2 [Ker §331.45 and 84]: *SH* I.4 and II.23;
T3 [Ker §338.29]: *SH* I.9;
U [Ker §86.7–8, 13, 15, 17–18, 22–4, and 27]: *SH* I.7–11 and 12; and II.13–16;
V1a [Ker §68.15 [twice]]: *SH* II.19 [extracts] and 30;
V2 [Ker §69.6 and 5]: *SH* I.11 and II.28;
W [Ker §162.49 and 28]: *SH* II.21 [extracts] and 29 [extract];
Za [Ker §344.3]: *SH* I.11a [extracts];
X^d [Ker §182.7]: *SH* II.20 [ending imperfect];
X^k [Ker §366a]: *SH* II.21 [extracts];
f^b [Ker §74.1–3]: *SH* I.11 [beginning imperfect], II.24 and II.25 [extract in imperfect fragment]; and
f^{e(2)} [not in Ker]: *SH* I.11 [ending imperfect]

³⁷ *De cogitatione*, collated for *SH* I.6.284–91.

³⁸ R1 serves as Pope's base text for *SH* II.21, but only furnishes lines 1–313 and 318–676 (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 676).

³⁹ *De cogitatione*, collated for *SH* I.6.284–91.

Table 11 Witnesses to SH I and II

	B	C	D2	E	F	G	H	Hc ⁴⁰	J1	K	L	M	N	O	P1	Q	R1	R2	S	T1	T2	T3	U	V1a	V2	W	Za	X ^d	X ^k	ƒ ^b	ƒ ^{c(2)}
SH1.1								X																							
SH1.2				X	X		X																								
SH1.3				X	X		X																								
SH1.4		X		X	X ⁱ	X		X			X	X	X	X		X					X										
SH1.5					X		X																								
SH1.6	X ⁴¹	X		X	X		X ⁱ	X ^e							X ^e				X ^e												
SH1.7												X ⁱ	X ⁱ									X									
SH1.8	X								X ^e		X	X	X									X									
SH1.9											X	X	X								X		X								
SH1.10											X	X	X									X									
SH1.11		X									X ^e	X ^e				X	X			X		X		X				X ⁱ	X ⁱ		
SH1.11a								X				X		X ^e				X ^e	X ^e							X ^e					
SH1.12	X											X										X									
SH1.13								X														X									
SH1.14								X														X									
SH1.15								X														X									

⁴⁰ That is, the interpolated additions in MS H, fols 1r and 4r–5v [Ker §220.1], 17v–21v [§220.4], 73r–75v [§220.16], 132v–319r [§220.31–33], 142v–145r [§220.36], 168v–177v [§220.44–6], and 250r–254v [§220.66]; see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 21, and for material in this table, Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 92–3.

⁴¹ *Erat quidam languens Lazarus III* [UK 3 / Belfour 14].

	B	C	D2	E	F	G	H	Hc ⁴⁰	J1	K	L	M	N	O	P1	Q	R1	R2	S	T1	T2	T3	U	V1a	V2	W	Za	X ^d	X ^k	f ^b	f ⁽²⁾
SH II.16								X															X								
SH II.17		X ^e	X ^e	X ^e	X ^e		X			X ^e		X ^e																			
SH II.18															X	X ⁱ	X														
SH II.19		X											X ^e		X									X ^e							
SH II.20															X													X ⁱ			
SH II.21		X ^e				X ^e				X ^e							X	X	X ^e	X ^e					X ^e				X ^e		
SH II.22															X																
SH II.23																					X										
SH II.24															X														X		
SH II.25																X	X												X ^e		
SH II.26								X									X														
SH II.27								X																							
SH II.28															X										X						
SH II.29																	X	X	X			X				X ^e					
SH II.30																	X ^e							X							

e = extract(s) [part(s) of the homily preserved, e.g., as an independent composition or as part of a composite text]; i = imperfect [part of the homily lost since MS written]

- Edition: Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 196–489 [SH I.1–12], and vol. II, pp. 493–808 [SH II.13–30].
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Leaves from versions of SH I.1, 2, 4, 6; II.14, 21, and 22 (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, frontispiece and following pp. 230 and 312; vol. II, frontispiece and following p. 728); and II.21 again (Dubois, *Ælfric*, facing p. 84). Complete sets of manuscript images are available as follows:
C, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>;
E, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315>;
F, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>;
H, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V;
L, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>;
O, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>;
Q, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275>;
R1, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>;
R2, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>;
U, <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=235>;
V1a, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sb541hg4710>;
V2, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pz542dy6146>;
W, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII; and
X^d, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_C_I/2.
- Translation: SH I.1–12 and II.13–17 are translated by Acevedo Butcher, *God of Mercy*, pp. 30–151, from her PhD dissertation; a translation of SH II.21 appears in Szurszewski, ‘Ælfric’s *De falsis diis*’, pp. 235–53.
- Notes: For correspondences between SH I.11a* and Ælfric’s *Letter to Wulfgeat*, see 4.3.4 below. Additional readings for SH II.17 have been supplied by Butcher, ‘Recovering’, pp. 15–21. For a subsequent edition and translation of *De falsis diis* (SH II.21), together with two analogous texts, Martin of Braga’s *Pro castigatione rusticorum* and the anonymous Icelandic *Um pat hvadan otru hofst*, see now Szurszewski, ‘Ælfric’s *De falsis diis*’.

1.4. *Temporale Homilies I* [TH I]

Overview: A series of homilies for Sundays and festivals other than saints' days from Christmas⁴² through the Sunday after Pentecost.⁴³

Date: Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005

MSS [] = Items not Newly Revised or Composed for TH I]:

L [Ker §18.2]: Retouched CH II.13;

M [Ker §21.28, 2, 6, 8, 12, 18–19, 23, 24, 29 and 36 and 27, 37, 31, 33, 1, 4–5, 9–10, 13–14, 16–17, 20–2, 27–8, 30, 3, 11, 25–6, 32, 34–5, 28 and 7, and 28 and 15]: CH I.3 (extract), 8, 10–12, and 14–16, augmented 17, 18 (three separate extracts), 19 (imperfect), and 21–2; CH II.4 (imperfect), 5–8, 12–16, 19 (extracts), 22, and 23b (126–98) (all CH II items retouched); SH I.4, 7–10, and 12 (Belfour 1); and LS 11 [Skeat I.12] (extract and full homily) and 12 [Skeat I.13] (extract and full homily);

N [Ker §153.2, 10–11, 15, 21, 25, 29–30, 34, 35, 37, 1, 7–9, 12–13, 16–17, 19, 22, 26–8, 14, 32–3, 36, 38, 20, 31, and 18]: augmented and retouched CH I.8, 10–11 (both imperfect), 12, 14 (imperfect), retouched 15, augmented 16, augmented 17 (imperfect), revised 20 and 21–2; CH II.4 (imperfect), 5–8, and 12–16 (all CH II items retouched); SH I.4 and 7–10; *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [UK 4 / Assmann 5]; *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [UK 6 / Napier 8 and SH II.19]; and LS 12 [Skeat I.13];

O [Ker §56.6–8, 16, 18, 22, 25, 29, 30, 32, 34, 13–15, 19–20, 23, 26, 28, 21, 24, 1, 17, and 4]: CH I.2–4, 10–12, and 14, Augmented 17 (imperfect), Retouched 18, 19, and Revised 20 (imperfect); CH II.5–8 and 13–15 (all CH II items retouched); SH I.4; *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [UK 4 / Assmann 5]; *Hexameron*; and LS 11 [Skeat I.12] and 16 [Skeat I.17];

T3 [Ker §338.33]: CH I.14 (extract); and

f^{a(2)} [Ker §63.1, 3, and 2]: CH I.15 and 19; and retouched II.16 (all imperfect)

⁴² Or Septuagesima, according to Pope (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 47–8).

⁴³ Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 71–6; and 'Chronology', pp. 43–5.

Table 12 Witnesses to TH I⁴⁴

		MSS	CH I.1 [?]	Hexameron	CH I.2	Retouched CH II.1.45 [?]	LS 1 [Sleat 1.1] or UK 2 / Belfour 9 ⁴⁶ [?]	SH I.1 ⁴⁷ [?]	CH I.3 ⁴⁸	Retouched CH II.2 [?]	CH I.4	CH I.5 [?]	Sunday after Christmas ⁴⁹ [?]	CH I.6-7 [?]	Retouched CH II.3 [?]	First Sunday after Epiphany ⁵⁰ [?]	Retouched CH II.4	CH I.8	Augmented & Retouched CH I.8 ⁵¹	Retouched CH II.23b (126-98) [?]	Retouched CH II.5-6	CH I.10	LS II [Sleat 1.12] ⁵²	CH I.11	Retouched CH II.7	SH I.2 ⁵³	Retouched CH II.8
Phase δ ¹	M								X ^e								X ⁱ	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Phase δ ²	N																X ⁱ		X		X	X ⁱ	⁵⁴	X ⁱ	X		X
	O		X	X				X	X	X											X	X	X	X	X		X

◻ = earlier composition, unrevised; ◻ = new or revised composition for TH I; ? = may have been part of TH I, but not extant;⁵⁵ e = extract; i = imperfect

⁴⁴ For this data, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 78–83 and references in notes below. Items in this table (the three parts of which should be read as a continuous whole) are arranged in liturgical order.

⁴⁵ For this and all other Second Series items likely retouched by Ælfric in Phase δ¹ (and possibly carried over into Phase δ²) of TH I, see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 77; Godden's editorial observation on that same page (n. 3); and note 138 under 'Production of TH I / Phase δ¹ of CH I' in Appendix 4.

⁴⁶ *In natali domini* [1.6.1.1.1 below].

⁴⁷ A new composition either for Phase δ¹ or δ² of TH I (Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 78–9 and 82), or perhaps more likely for TH II ('Chronology', p. 57; and *First Series*, pp. 82 and 90–1).

⁴⁸ For the extract incorporated into a composite homily in M [Ker §21.28], see Godden, 'Composite Homilies', pp. 61; and *Second Series*, p. xlvi).

⁴⁹ If included in TH I, such a homily could have been composed either for phase δ¹ or δ² (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82).

⁵⁰ If included in TH I, such a homily could have been composed either for phase δ¹ or δ² (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82).

⁵¹ 'Augmented', 'Retouched' and 'Revised' being Clemoes' terms; see *First Series*, p. 82.

⁵² See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 77 and n. 4. In addition to the full text of LS 11 [Skeat I.12] in M [Ker §21.7], an extract appears in a composite homily later in the manuscript [Ker §21.28]; on the latter, see Godden, 'Composite Homilies', pp. 61; and *Second Series*, p. xlvi).

⁵³ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric could have included this homily either at phase δ¹ or δ² of TH I (*First Series*, p. 82).

⁵⁴ 'Almost certainly once in N' (*First Series*, p. 79).

⁵⁵ According to *First Series*, pp. 77–83. Clemoes suggests that while 'it is unthinkable that Ælfric would have left unrepresented such important feasts as the Circumcision and Epiphany', items such as the homilies such as those for the Fridays in Lent 'might well be omitted from our extant selections, being of relatively minor importance' ('Chronology', p. 43).

		MSS	SH I.3 ⁵⁶	SH I.4 ⁵⁷	SH I.5 ⁵⁸	CH I.12	Retouched CH II.12	LS 12 [Skeat I.13] ⁵⁹	Irvine 3 (Belfour 7) ⁶⁰ [?]	Lazarus II [UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91] ⁶¹	Retouched CH II.13	UK 4 / Assmann 5 ⁶²	CH I.14	Retouched CH II.14	CH I.15	Retouched CH I.15 ⁶³	Retouched CH II.15	Retouched CH II.16	CH I.16	Augmented CH I.16 ⁶⁴	Augmented CH I.17 ⁶⁵	UK 6 / Napier 8 and SH II.19 ⁶⁶	SH I.7 and 8 (Belfour 2) ⁶⁷	CH I.18 ⁶⁸	Retouched CH I.18 ⁶⁹	LS 16 [Skeat I.17] [?]	Retouched CH II.19 ⁷⁰ [?]
Phase δ ¹	M		X		X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X ^e				X ^e
	T3											X ^e															
	f ^a (2)														X ⁱ			X ⁱ									
Phase δ ²	L									X																	
	N		X		X	X	X			X	X	X ⁱ	X		X	X	X		X	X ⁱ	X	X					
	O		X		X					X	X	X	X		⁷¹	X				X ⁱ				X	X		

⁵⁶ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric could have included this homily either at phase δ¹ or δ² of TH I (*First Series*, p. 82).

⁵⁷ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 77 and n. 5, also citing Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 262.

⁵⁸ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric could have included this homily either at phase δ¹ or δ² of TH I (*First Series*, p. 82).

⁵⁹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 77 and n. 4. In addition to the full text of LS 12 [Skeat I.13] in M [Ker §21.15], an extract appears in a composite homily later in the manuscript [Ker §21.28]; on the latter, see Godden, 'Composite Homilies', pp. 61; and *Second Series*, p. xlvii).

⁶⁰ *Secundum Iohannem* [1.5.1.1.3 below], a new composition 'probably' either for phase δ¹ or δ² of TH I, or possibly for TH II (Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 56; see also p. 45, and *First Series*, pp. 80–1).

⁶¹ Clemoes argues that *Erat quidam languens Lazarus II* [1.5.1.1.4 below] 'may well have been part of [phase δ¹ or δ²] of TH I, though we lack the evidence to prove it today' ('Chronology', p. 46). It does appear as a TH II item in MS Hc, but is replaced in TH II by *Lazarus III* [UK 3 / Belfour 14] in MS B; see *First Series*, pp. 82 and 97; and 'Chronology', pp. 46, 45, and 57.

⁶² *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [1.5.1.1.5 below].

⁶³ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82.

⁶⁴ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82.

⁶⁵ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 77.

⁶⁶ The new composition *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [1.5.1.1.7 below] (Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 56, 43, and 66 n. 53 – but not mentioned, oddly, in his discussion of TH I contents in *First Series*, pp. 77, 80, and 82).

⁶⁷ New compositions for TH I (*First Series*, pp. 80–1 and 82; and 'Chronology', p. 56).

⁶⁸ This homily appears in M in three pieces: the opening, lines 2–11, appear independently as Ker §21.29; most of the remainder, lines 14 (*god spræc*) – 39 and 42 (*We wyllað*) – 213, appears later as Ker §21.36; and lines 1 (*on þisum dagum*) – 5 (*forgifenyse*), are perhaps incorporated earlier into a composite homily [Ker §21.27]. On the last, see Godden, 'Composite Homilies', pp. 58–9; and *Second Series*, p. xlv.

⁶⁹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82.

⁷⁰ Extracts used in two composite homilies [Ker §21.27–8] in M (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xlv–xlvi and 180, upper apparatus; and 'Composite Homilies', pp. 58 and 61); Clemoes suggests that the homily 'may have been included' in TH I, and thus possibly retouched along with other Second Series items therein (*First Series*, pp. 77 and 82–3).

⁷¹ Clemoes' table indicates that O includes a copy of CH I.15 (*First Series*, p. 81), but the homily is not found in this manuscript (pp. xx, 33, and apparatus to 299).

	MSS	CH I.19	Retouched CH II.20 [?]	Retouched CH II.21 [?]	Revised CH I.20 ⁷²	Retouched CH II.22 [?]	CH I.21	SH I.9 ⁷³	CH I.22	SH I.10 ⁷⁴	SH I.12 (Belfour 1) ⁷⁵
Phase δ ¹	M	X ⁱ			⁷⁶	X	X	X	X	X	X
	f ^{a(2)}	X ⁱ									
Phase δ ²	N				X	X	X	X	X		
	O	X			X ⁱ						

Editions: for *Catholic Homilies* I, see 1.1 above;
for *Catholic Homilies* II, see 1.2 above;
for *Supplementary Homilies*, see 1.3 above;
for *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9], see 1.6.1.1.1 below;
for *Secundum Iohannem* [Irvine 3 / Belfour 7], see 1.6.1.1.3 below;
for *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* II (UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91), see 1.6.1.1.4 below;
for *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [UK 4 / Assmann 5], see 1.6.1.1.5 below;
for *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [UK 6 / Napier 8 and SH II.19], see 1.6.1.1.7 below;
for the *Hexameron*, see 1.6.1.4.2 below; and
for *Lives of Saints*, see 3.2.1 below.

Notes: For a discussion of TH I, and the debate over Ælfric's authorship, see pp. 27–33 above.

⁷² Clemoes suggests that Ælfric's revision of this homily could belong either to phase δ¹ or δ² of TH I (*First Series*, p. 82).

⁷³ A new composition for TH I (*First Series*, pp. 82–3).

⁷⁴ A new composition for TH I (*First Series*, pp. 82–3).

⁷⁵ A new composition for TH I (*First Series*, pp. 82–3).

⁷⁶ 'Probably once in M' (*First Series*, pp. 82–3).

1.5. Temporale Homilies II [TH II]

Overview: A series of homilies for Sundays and festivals other than saints' days spanning the liturgical year (Christmas through perhaps the Fourth Sunday of Advent)⁷⁷ and focusing particularly on the exposition of pericopes.⁷⁸

Date: ca 1006 – (1009 × 1010)

MSS [■] = Items not Newly Revised or Composed for TH II:

B [Ker §310], including
Ba⁷⁹ [Ker §310.1–2 and 4]: CH II.25–6 and 31 (all imperfect),
Bc, the section primarily associated with TH II by Clemoes [Ker §310.8, 7, and 9–10];⁸⁰ SH I.8, SH I.12, and Irvine 1–2,
Bd1 [Ker §310.13]: CH I.19,
Bd2 [Ker §310.27, 24–5, and 26]: CH I.10, CH II.5, and CH II.6,
Be1 [Ker §310.38–42 and 32–3]: CH I.14–15, 18, 21–2, and 39–40,
Be3 [Ker §310.48 and 47]: CH I.6 and 20,
Be4 [Ker §310.49–53]: CH I.23–4, 28, 33, and 35,
Be5 [Ker §310.54]: Irvine 3 / Belfour 7,
Bf [Ker §310.75]: CH II.4, and
Bg [Ker §310.83]: *Lazarus* III [UK 3 / Belfour 14];
H⁸¹ [Ker §220.21–2, 15, 30, 34–5, 44, 46, 4, 16, 1, 36, 44–6, 31–3, 36, 45, and 66]: augmented CH I.16–17; revised CH II.8, 23a, 25–6; revised CH II.28 + SH II.26; revised CH II.31 + SH II.27; SH I.1, 4, and 11a; SH II.13–17; and *Lazarus* II [UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91]; and
U [Ker §86.1, 4–5, 9–12, 14, 19, 21, 28, 2–3, 20, 25–6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 17–18, 22–4, 27, 6, and 16]: CH I.15, augmented 16, augmented 17, 18–24, and 28 (imperfect); revised and augmented CH II.16, 23a, and 25–6; augmented SH I.7 and 8–12, and SH II.13–16; *Modicum* [UK 5 / Assmann 6]; *De septiformi spiritu* [UK 17 / Napier 7]; and *Be þam halgan gaste* [UK 16 / Napier 8];

⁷⁷ *First Series*, pp. 88 and 96.

⁷⁸ The exceptions, homilies not expositing a pericope, are SH I.11, SH I.11a, *De septiformi spiritu* [UK 17 / Napier 7], *Be þam halgan gaste* [UK 16 / Napier 8], CH I.19, and CH I.20; see *First Series*, pp. 88–9, and 'Chronology', pp. 46–7.

⁷⁹ For the following subdivisions of MS B, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 2–5.

⁸⁰ Clemoes includes Ker §310.6 (a copy of CH I.1) in Bc, but suggests that Ælfric replaced CH I.1 with SH I.1 in TH II (*First Series*, pp. 3 and 90).

⁸¹ Hc (fols 1r and 4r–5v [Ker §220.1], 17v–21v [§220.4], 33r–35r [§220.7], 71v–75v [§220.15–16], 92v–96r [§220.21], 131r–145r [§220.30–6], 168v–177v [§220.44–6], 181r–184v [§220.48–9], and 250r–254v [§220.66]) according to Clemoes' subdivisions of the manuscript (*First Series*, p. 21).

Table 13 Witnesses to TH II⁸²

U	H	B	MSS
	X		<i>SH</i> I. ⁸³
			<i>CH</i> I.3 and/or <i>CH</i> II.2 [?]
			<i>CH</i> I.4 [?]
			<i>CH</i> I.5
			Sunday after Christmas [?]
		·	<i>CH</i> I.6
			<i>CH</i> I.7
			First Sunday after Epiphany [?]
		·	<i>CH</i> II.4
			Augmented <i>CH</i> I.8 ⁸⁴
			Fourth Sunday after Epiphany ⁸⁵ [?]
			Fifth Sunday after Epiphany [?]
			Sixth Sunday after Epiphany [?]
		·	<i>CH</i> II.5
		·	<i>CH</i> II.6
		·	<i>CH</i> I.10
			<i>CH</i> I.11
			<i>SH</i> I.2
	X		Revised <i>CH</i> II.8 ⁸⁶
			<i>SH</i> I.3
	X		<i>SH</i> I.4
			<i>SH</i> I.5
			<i>CH</i> I.12
		·	Irvine 3 (Belfour 7) ⁸⁷
	X		<i>Lazarus</i> II [UK 3 / <i>SH</i> I.6. 209-91] ⁸⁸
		·	<i>Lazarus</i> III [UK 3 / Belfour 14] ⁸⁹
			<i>CH</i> II.13
			UK 4 / Assmann 5 ⁹⁰

◻ = earlier composition, unrevised; ◻ = new or revised composition for *TH II*; · = item present in part of the MS other than Bc [primarily associated with *TH II* by Clemoes]; [?] = may have been part of *TH II*, but not extant;⁹¹ e = extract; i = imperfect

⁸² For this data, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 90–7, and references in notes below. Items in this table (the three parts of which should be read as a continuous whole) are arranged in liturgical order.

⁸³ While Clemoes allows the possibility that Ælfric could have written *SH* I.1 for Phase δ^1 or δ^2 of *TH* I (*First Series*, pp. 78–9 and 82), he seems to view it more as a *TH* II composition (pp. 82 and 90–1, and ‘Chronology’, p. 57). Pope places *SH* I.1 after Ælfric becomes abbot of Eynsham – that is, closer to *TH* II than *TH* I – seeing it as ‘relatively late because of its easy mastery of a wealth of learning’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149).

⁸⁴ What appears to be an unaugmented copy of *CH* I.8 appears in Bd1 as Ker §310.21 (see *First Series*, pp. 241 and 544).

⁸⁵ Clemoes posits that Ælfric may have composed new homilies for *TH* II for these Sundays after Epiphany (*First Series*, p. 91).

⁸⁶ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, and apparatus for 68–9.

⁸⁷ *Secundum Iohannem* [Bes; Ker §310.54; 1.5.1.1.3 below], a new composition 'probably' either for phase δ¹ or δ² of *TH* I, or possibly for *TH* II (Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 56; see also p. 45, and *First Series*, pp. 80–1).

⁸⁸ Clemons argues that *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* II [1.5.1.1.4 below] ‘may well have been part of [phase δ¹ or δ²] of *TH I* (‘Chronology’, p. 46); it does not survive in *TH I* manuscripts, however, but appears as a *TH II* item in MS Hc. In MS B – perhaps later in Ælfric’s development of *TH II*? – it is then replaced by *Lazarus* III [UK 3 / Belfour 14]; see *First Series*, pp. 82 and 97; and ‘Chronology’, pp. 46, 45, and 57.

⁸⁹ *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* III [Bg; Ker §310.83; 1.5.1.1.4 below], composed for *TH* II ('Chronology', p. 45).

⁹⁰ *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [1.5.1.1.5 below].

⁹¹ According to *First Series*, pp. 90–7.

U	H	B	MSS
		·	CH I.14
X		·	CH I.15 ⁹²
X			Revised & Augmented CH II.16 ⁹³
X	X		Augmented CH I.16
X	¹⁰²		Augmented CH I.17
X			<i>Modicum</i> [UK 5 / Assman 6] ⁹⁴
X			Augmented SH I.7 ⁹⁵
X		X	SH I.8
X		·	CH I.18
			CH II.19
X		·	CH I.19
X		·	CH I.20
			CH II.22
X		·	CH I.21 [?]
X			SH I.9
X		·	CH I.22 [?]
X			SH I.10
X			<i>De septiformi spiritu</i> [UK 17 / Napier 7]
X			<i>Be þam halgum gaste</i> [UK 16 / Napier 8]
X			SH I.11
X		X	SH I.12
X		·	CH I.23
X	X		Revised CH II.23a (lines 1–125) ⁹⁶
X		·	CH I.24
X	X		SH II.13 ⁹⁷
X	X		SH II.14 ⁹⁸
X	X		SH II.15 ⁹⁹
X	X	·	Revised CH II.25 ¹⁰⁰
X	X		Revised CH II.26 ¹⁰¹

⁹² *CHI*.15–24 and 28 in MS U are part of phase ζ of *CHI* dissemination; the changes therein may not be substantial enough to warrant calling them newly-revised texts for *TH* II: see Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 46 and 86–9.

⁹³ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii and 166, apparatus.

⁹⁴ New composition for *TH II* (*First Series*, p. 93).

⁹⁵ *SH I.7* expanded at lines 94–161 [comprising the second version of *SH I.7*; see Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 337–8 and apparatus to 334]; augmentation new for *TH II* (*First Series*, p. 93; ‘Chronology’, pp. 45 and 57).

⁹⁶ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, lxxi and n. 1, and 217, apparatus.

⁹⁷ New composition for TH II (*First Series*, pp. 94–5).

⁹⁸ New composition for *TH II* (*First Series*, pp. 94–5).

⁹⁹ New composition for *TH II* (*First Series*, pp. 94–5).

¹⁰⁰ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, lxxi and n. 1, and apparatus for 231–2 and 234.

¹⁰¹ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, lxxi and n. 1, and apparatus for 235–7 and 239.

¹⁰² Lines 1–5 (*he*) are supplied by the interpolator (Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 92–3 and 313).

	MSS			
U	X	Xi	X	<i>SH</i> II.16 ¹⁰³
H	X		X	<i>CH</i> I.28
B				Revised <i>CH</i> II.28 [<i>SH</i> II.26] ¹⁰⁴
			X	<i>SH</i> II.17 ¹⁰⁵
				14th Sunday after Pentecost ¹⁰⁶ [?]
				15th Sunday after Pentecost [?]
	X	.	X	Revised <i>CH</i> II.31 [<i>SH</i> II.27] ¹⁰⁷
		.		<i>CH</i> I.33
				18th Sunday after Pentecost [?]
				19th Sunday after Pentecost [?]
				20th Sunday after Pentecost [?]
		.		<i>CH</i> I.35
		X		Irvine 1 (Belfour 3) ¹⁰⁸
		X		Irvine 2 (Belfour 4) ¹⁰⁹
				24th Sunday after Pentecost [?]
				25th Sunday after Pentecost [?] ¹¹⁰
				26th Sunday after Pentecost [?]
		.		<i>CH</i> I.39 [?]
				<i>CH</i> I.40
				Third Sunday of Advent [?]
				Fourth Sunday of Advent [?]
	X			<i>SH</i> I.11a ^m

Editions:

- for *Catholic Homilies* I, see 1.1 above;
- for *Catholic Homilies* II, see 1.2 above;
- for *Supplementary Homilies*, see 1.3 above;
- for *Secundum Iohannem* [Irvine 3 / Belfour 7], see 1.6.1.1.3 below;
- for *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* II [UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91] and III [UK 3 / Belfour 14], see 1.6.1.1.4 below;
- for *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [UK 4 / Assmann 5], see 1.6.1.1.5 below;
- for *Modicum et iam non uidebitis me* [UK 5 / Assmann 6], see 1.6.1.1.6 below;
- for *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum* [Irvine 1 / Belfour 3], see 1.6.1.1.8 below;
- for *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi* [Irvine 2 / Belfour 4], see 1.6.1.1.9 below;

¹⁰³ New composition for *TH* II (*First Series*, pp. 94–5).

¹⁰⁴ Revision new for *TH II (First Series*, p. 95; and 'Chronology', pp. 45 and 57); on which revisions, see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxi and n. 1, and apparatus for 319–20 and 323.

¹⁰⁵ New composition incorporating *CH* II.23b: *SH* II.17.203–76 corresponds to *CH* II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 28 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnyssse*) (*First Series*, p. 95). Note that Clemoes associates the text with the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost (*First Series*, p. 94; ‘Chronology’, pp. 45–6 and 57), while Pope entitles it the Twelfth Sunday (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 563). On the revisions to *CH* II.23b in Hc, see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxvi and n. 1, and apparatus for 219–20.

¹⁰⁶ Clemoes posits that for these occasions after Pentecost and in Advent, Ælfric may have composed new works for *TH II* that have not survived (*First Series*, pp. 94–7).

¹⁰⁷ Revision new for *TH* II (*First Series*, pp. 96–7; and ‘Chronology’, pp. 45 and 57); *CH* II.31 appears imperfectly in Ba (Ker §310.4).

¹⁰⁸ *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum* here included as a new composition for *TH* II (First Series, pp. 96–7).

¹⁰⁹ *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi* here included as a new composition for TH II (*First Series*, pp. 96–7).

¹¹⁰ For the possibility that Ælfric may have composed homilies for TH II (not extant) for the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth Sundays after Pentecost, see *First Series*, p. 97.

¹³ While Clemons does not list *SH* I.11a, a homily for an unspecified occasion (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 142), in his table of *TH* II items (*First Series*, pp. 90–7), he does identify it as a new composition for *TH* II ('Chronology', pp. 45–6).

for *De septiformi spiritu* [UK 17 / Napier 7] and *Be þam halgan gaste* [UK 16 / Napier 8], see 2.1.4–2.1.5 below; and for *Lives of Saints*, see 3.2.1 below.

Notes: For a discussion of *TH* II, see pp. 38–9 above.

1.6. Miscellaneous Homilies

1.6.1. Liturgical homilies

1.6.1.1. The Proper of the Season

†¹¹²1.6.1.1.1. [B.1.5.1] *In natali domini*

Occasion: Christmas Day

Overview: Largely concerned with the nature of the Trinity and of the soul, the text treats such subjects as the Arians' denial of Christ's divinity, the soulless state of animals, the relation of the threefold nature of the soul and the seven deadly sins, and the integration of the soul, spirit, mind, and will.

Date: Late in the period *ca* 998 x 1002

MS: B [Ker §310.77], fols 155r–158r; *cf.* LS 1 [Skeat I.1] in W [1.3.5; §162.4; §339], fols 5v–9v

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 2; previously Belfour 9 (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 78–96) and Leinbaugh, 'Liturgical Homilies', pp. 49–87.

Translation: Belfour, *Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 79–97.

Notes: Revised text of LS 1 [Skeat I.1].

†1.6.1.1.2. *Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime** (in Latin)¹¹³

Occasion: Christmas Day

Overview: Ælfric discusses among other things the distinction between incorporeal and corporeal creatures (e.g., angels and animals) and that between animals and men: only the latter, he says, walk upright on the ground, having been designed to focus more on heavenly matters than on earthly ones.

Date: Between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991

MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 13r–18r; *cf.* LS 1 [Skeat I.1] in W [1.3.5; Ker §162.4], fols 5v–9v

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 1; previously Leinbaugh, 'Liturgical Homilies', 109–29.

¹¹² Texts marked † are to be edited by Upchurch and Kleist.

¹¹³ Classed with 'Epitomes and Abridgements' [6. below] by Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 12–13.

Notes: The homily has parallels both to *LS* 1 [Skeat I.1] and *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9]. Attributed tentatively to Ælfric by Raynes, Gatch, and Pope,¹¹⁴ and ‘plausibly’ by Lapidge,¹¹⁵ it has been attributed confidently to Ælfric by Godden, who argues that UK 2 draws on Y4, which in turn translates material from *LS* 1.¹¹⁶ Leinbaugh, however, questions this view, suggesting that the Boulogne sermon [Y4] may have been composed first and not necessarily by Ælfric.¹¹⁷ On Ælfric’s relationship to Y4, see also Raynes, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’; Gatch, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’; Jones, ‘Medieval Latin Author’, pp. 45–51; and Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 554–5.

Raynes, Gatch, Jones, and Lapidge all conclude that Y4, fols 1r–34v likely preserve a copy of an Ælfrician Commonplace Book – a manuscript ‘which Ælfric kept for his personal use and in which he entered Latin sermons for translation and other items of interest’.¹¹⁸ If, as Clemoes asserts, ‘the Boulogne manuscript’s affinities are all with Ælfric’,¹¹⁹ all contents not directly attributable to Ælfric may still deserve consideration as possible candidates for that nebulous category of Ælfrician epitomes. The manuscript includes:

1. *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis** [6.2],
2. *Decalogus Moysi* [6.3],
3. *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum de libris recipiendis** [6.4],
4. *Duo reges fuerunt** [7.4],
5. *De ebrietate cauenda** [7.5] and
6. *Gregorii de pastoribus non recte gradientibus** [6.10],
7. *De his qui auguria adtendunt** [6.11],
8. *Isidori de sacerdotibus** [6.16],
9. *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* [4.1.2],
10. *De pascha** [6.19],
11. *Primus igitur homo** [6.7],
12. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis* [6.21],
13. *Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime** [1.6.1.1.2],
14. *De seruitio carnis** [7.15]

For a more detailed discussion of Y4 in relationship to MSS PRS, Y25, and X^a, see Kleist, ‘Commonplace Book’.

¹¹⁴ Raynes, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 68; Gatch, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 489 n. 32; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 137 n. 1.

¹¹⁵ *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 555, speaking of the plausibility particularly of Raynes’ arguments.

¹¹⁶ ‘Anglo-Saxons’, pp. 296–8; see also *Commentary*, pp. xlv and 164–5.

¹¹⁷ See his treatment of the ‘Boulogne Sermon’.

¹¹⁸ Raynes, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 73; see also Gatch, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 482, and *Preaching and Theology*, p. 132; and Jones, ‘Medieval Latin Author’, pp. 9, 12, and 45–51. For a full discussion, see now Kleist, ‘Ælfric’s Commonplace Books’.

¹¹⁹ Clemoes, ‘Benedictine Office’, p. 274.

1.6.1.1.3. [B.1.5.2] *Secundum Iohannem*

- Occasion: Wednesday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent
- Overview: Ælfric provides a translation and exegetical exposition of Christ's healing of the man born blind (John 9.1–39); following Augustine, Ælfric interprets the man as humanity, spiritually blind through original sin and personal unbelief, but enlightened through faith.¹²⁰
- Date: Probably between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005; possibly *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MS: B [Ker §310.54], fols 107v–10r
- Edition: Irvine 3 (*Old English Homilies*, pp. 61–74); formerly Belfour 7 (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 58–74).
- Translation: Belfour, *Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 59–75
- Notes: For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine, *Old English Homilies*, pp. 49–60.

†1.6.1.1.4. [B.1.5.3 and B.1.4.6] *Erat quidam languens Lazarus*¹²¹ I, II, and III

- Occasion: Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent
- Overview: Ælfric addresses the raising of Lazarus, the spiritual significance of the three figures whom Christ resurrects, the unforgivable sin, and the interrelationship of the persons of the Trinity.
- Date: First version [SH I.6.1–208 and 292–373]: Later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998;
Second version [SH I.6.209–91]: Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005; or possibly *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010); and
Third version [Belfour 14]: *ca* 1006–9 x 1010
- MSS: B [Ker §310.83], fols 166v–167v [third version];
C [Ker §57.11], pp. 38–43 [first version];
F [Ker §38.24], pp. 274–84 [first version]; and
H [Ker §220.66], fols 250r–254v [first and second versions (ending of first version lost); imperfect at edges of leaves]
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 3; individual parts previously printed as SH I.6 (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 311–29) and Belfour 14 (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 136–40).

¹²⁰ Cf. Ælfric's treatment of the blind man outside Jericho (CH I.10, expositing Luke 18.35–43).

¹²¹ Though the homily may more descriptively be called 'Ða ðreo deade men þe ure Drihten arerde' (Belfour 14, lines 8–9), this beginning to John 11.1–45, the pericope for the Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent, heads the versions in MSS C, F, and H [with *longuens* for *languens*]. The revised introduction in B begins 'Us sægð þeo halige cristes boc ...'.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS C, F, and H are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699> and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V.

Notes: Three versions of this homily exist. The first, *SH* I.6.1–208 and 292–373, is found in MSS C, F, and H. Evidence for the second version comes from H, where the scribe responsible for numerous interpolations in the manuscript introduced lines 209–91 on an additional leaf (fol. 253rv) from a now-lost exemplar, ‘erasing and copying just enough of the original text to join new and old neatly together into a continuous whole’.¹²² The last eight lines of the interpolation (*SH* I.6.284–91) also form the opening to *De cogitatione* [6.5 below] in P1 and S. The third version appears in B, which contains an excerpt from the second version that draws both on the original version and the interpolation. The excerpt corresponds roughly to lines 170–208, ‘but with considerable rearrangement and rewriting’, followed by lines 209–83 ‘without substantial alteration’, with lines 318–27 serving as the final paragraph.¹²³

Belfour 14 prints the third version of the homily, while Pope prints the first version as *SH* I.6.1–208 and 292–373, inserts the interpolation of the second version at *SH* I.6.209–91 and collates all but the first nineteen lines of Belfour’s text (the revised part of the third version, which may draw on *CH* I.33.76–104) for *SH* I.6.209–83 and 318–27. All versions now edited as UK 3.

†1.6.1.1.5. [B.1.5.4] *Collegerunt ergo pontifices*¹²⁴

Occasion: Friday after the Fifth Sunday in Lent

Overview: An exposition of John 11.47–54, Caiaphas’ address to the Sanhedrin and the plot to kill Jesus and Lazarus.

Date: Later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998

MSS: F [Ker §38.26], pp. 298–305;
N [Ker §153.20], fols 99r–102v; and
O [Ker §56.24], pp. 151–5

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 4; previously Assmann 5 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 65–72).

¹²² Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 303.

¹²³ Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 304; see also p. 505.

¹²⁴ With this phrase, the opening to John 11.47–54, the pericope for the Friday after the Fifth Sunday in Lent, the copies in MSS F ‘Collegerunt ergo [pontifices]’, N, and O begin.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS F and O are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>.

Notes: Now lost (and not printed by Assmann): H [would have been Ker §220.67].¹²⁵

†1.6.1.1.6. [B.1.5.5] *Modicum et iam non uidebitis me*¹²⁶

Occasion: Third Sunday after Easter

Overview: An exposition of John 16.16–22, where during the Last Supper Christ speaks to his disciples about his death, their coming grief, and their subsequent joy.

Date: ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)

MS: U [Ker §86.6], pp. 79–90

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 5; previously Assmann 6 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 73–80).

Digital Images: The whole of MS U is available at <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=235>.

†1.6.1.1.7. *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa*^{*127}

Occasion: Third Sunday after Easter

Overview: Having discussed [in the acephalous portion drawn from Napier 8] seven sins that contrast with the sevenfold gift of the Spirit, Ælfric moves [in the extract from *SH* II.19] to an account from Bede regarding one of King Coenred of Mercia's thanes, who suffers damnation for his unrepentant spirit despite having been shown a vision of demons.

Date: Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005

MS: N [Ker §153.31], fols 160r–162v¹²⁸

¹²⁵ See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 285–6; and Clemoes, 'Supplementary Introduction', p. xxv.

¹²⁶ The Latin opening to John 16.16–22, the pericope for the Third Sunday after Easter, is here used rather than 'Ure leofa hælend' with which the copy in MS U begins, in keeping with other texts titled by Upchurch and Kleist.

¹²⁷ This title does not appear in the damaged MS N, but reflects the surviving contents of Napier 8 (see particularly p. 58, line 11) and the subsequent consequences portrayed in *SH* II.19's account from Bede.

¹²⁸ The homily begins imperfectly, a leaf having been lost. The opening page – marked '160' in the lower-right corner, as one of four differing pagination marks on the page – begins '[wið]utan bið gesewen', as Napier 8, p. 58, line 1. The Napier portion ends with 'gramlican deofles' (p. 60, line 4) on at the bottom of fol. 160v (lines 23–4); *SH* II.19, line 136 then begins 'Be þam we magon secgan ...'.

- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 6; individual parts correspond to Napier 8 (*Wulfstan*, p. 58, line 1 – p. 60, line 4¹²⁹ [2.1.5 below]) and *SH* II.19 (lines 136–207, 242–5, and 250–4¹³⁰ [1.3 above]).
- Note: Clemoes ‘suggests that this combination was made by Ælfric himself as a stop-gap for [*TH* I] until he produced Assmann 6 [for *TH* II]’ (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 615; see Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, pp. 46, 32, and 56), and Godden describes the compilation as ‘possibly by Ælfric’ (*Second Series*, p. xlviii), but Pope argues at length against Ælfric’s responsibility (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 614–15; see also vol. I, p. 45) and Teresi finds his logic ‘convincing’ (‘Making of a *Temporale* Collection’, p. 301 n. 40).

1.6.1.1.8. [B.1.5.6] *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum*

- Occasion: Twenty-Second Sunday after Pentecost
- Overview: Ælfric’s exegesis of Christ’s healing of the *underkyng*’s son (John 4.46–53) explains the relationship of subordinate kings in Judea to the Roman emperor and emphasizes the importance of faith, comparing the *underkyng*’s belief to that of the centurion and the unbelief of the Jews (Matthew 8.5–13 and 21.23–7).
- Date: ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MS: B [Ker §310.9], fols 8r–10r
- Edition: Irvine 1 (*Old English Homilies*, pp. 19–25); previously Belfour 3 (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 22–30).
- Translation: Belfour, *Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 23–31.
- Notes: For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine, *Old English Homilies*, pp. 1–18.

1.6.1.1.9. [B.1.5.7] *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi*

- Occasion: Twenty-Third Sunday after Pentecost
- Overview: For his exegesis of the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matthew 18.23–35), Ælfric draws on Augustine to stress the need for men to forgive one another in order to be forgiven by God.
- Date: ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MS: B [Ker §310.10], fols 10r–11v

¹²⁹ MS N not having been collated in Napier’s edition; see also 2.1.3 and 6.6 below.

¹³⁰ Pope does collate MS N for these lines (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 622).

- Edition: Irvine 2 (*Old English Homilies*, pp. 37–45); previously Belfour 4 (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 30–40).
- Translation: Belfour (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 31–41).
- Notes: For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine, *Old English Homilies*, pp. 29–36.

1.6.1.2. *The Proper of the Saints*

1.6.1.2.1. [B.1.5.9] *Nisi granum frumenti*¹³¹

- Occasion: 22 January, St Vincent
- Overview: Having described Vincent's torture and death at the hands of Datian, Ælfric urges his audience to give up their lives for Christ, whether literally (through martyrdom) or spiritually (through lifelong service).
- Date: ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: B [Ker §310.61], fols 121v–122r [second part (Belfour 8)]; and L [Ker §18.23], fols 128v–132v [first part (LS 33 [Skeat II.37])]
- Edition: Irvine 4 (*Old English Homilies*, pp. 99–115); forthcoming edition and translation by Mary Clayton and Juliet Mullins.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS L is available at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>.
- Translation: Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. 427–43; and Belfour, *Twelfth-Century Homilies*, pp. 75–7.
- Notes: Ælfric composed his homily for St Vincent in two parts: the first section, printed as LS 33 [Skeat II.37], treats Vincent's passion; the second, shorter section, printed as Belfour 8, expositis John 12.24–6, the pericope for a martyr out of Eastertide that elsewhere was associated with the Life of St Laurence.¹³² Both sections are edited here. For a discussion of the homily, see Irvine, *Old English Homilies*, pp. 77–98.

†1.6.1.2.2. [B.1.5.10] *De sancta uirginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis**

- Occasion: 15 August, Assumption of the Virgin
- Overview: In the first part of the homily, Ælfric reproduces much of his *Letter to Sigefyrth* [4.3.3 below]; in the second part, using the parable of

¹³¹ As with other texts titled by Upchurch and Kleist, this phrase reflects the opening of the pericope for the day: 'Amen amen dico uobis nisi granum frumenti', the beginning of John 12.24–6, here associated in part of the homily with Vincent (Belfour 8, p. 76, line 12).

¹³² For this connection, see Nicholls, "'Life of Vincent'".

the Workers in the Vineyard (Matthew 20.1–16), Ælfric teaches that while all the elect will receive the reward of heaven, they will differ in their radiance according to their virtue – virtue which Ælfric illustrates by means of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5.3–10).

- Date: ca 1006 – (1009 × 1010)
- MS: H [Ker §220.49], fols 182v–184v [imperfect at edges of leaves]
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 7; individual parts previously collated in Assmann 2, lines 13–224 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 13–23), and 3, lines 505–97 (pp. 44–8) [see 1.6.1.2.3 and 4.3.3 below].
- Notes: Ælfric sets forth two homilies in the *Catholic Homilies* for this occasion, both warning against heterodox teaching on the Assumption (CH I.30.25–7 and II.29.120–33); another may be *De uirginitate*, a compilation of debated authorship [1.6.1.4.4 below]. Responsibility for this fourth text, *De sancta uirginitate*, is likewise in question: while Godden proffers that the compilation ‘may be by Ælfric’,¹³³ and Pope acknowledges Ælfric’s authorship of the pieces collated by Assmann, Pope is unsure that Ælfric himself compiled the pieces in MS H: ‘There is no sign of ingenuity here, only a simple joining of two originally separate passages’.¹³⁴ In his 1964 ‘Supplementary Introduction’ to Assmann’s edition, Clemons affirms that ‘Assmann is surely right in attributing to Ælfric [MS H’s] homiletic adaptation of the letter, since the additions made for this purpose are wholly in Ælfric’s authentic style’, though he finds it ‘less certain’ that Ælfric himself incorporated Assmann 3.505–97 in the work.¹³⁵ Later on, however, citing Pope’s comments above from his 1967 edition, Clemons speaks of the compilation as ‘only doubtfully by Ælfric’.¹³⁶ Finally, in his 1983 dissertation, Kezel reviews the evidence and concludes that ‘we are reasonably justified in viewing [both *De sancta uirginitate* and *De uirginitate*] as authentic works of Ælfric’ (‘Ælfric the Benedictine’, p. 171; see also pp. 163–70).

†1.6.1.2.3. [B.1.5.8] *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae uirginis*

- Occasion: 8 September, Nativity of the Virgin Mary
- Overview: Having previously refused in *De sancta Maria* [1.2 above] to treat the extra-biblical subject of Mary’s origins, Ælfric here reiterates his concern over the dangers of *gedwyld* (theological error), but

¹³³ *Second Series*, p. lxvi.

¹³⁴ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 31; see also p. 141.

¹³⁵ ‘Supplementary Introduction’, p. xvii.

¹³⁶ *First Series*, p. 84; see also ‘Supplementary Introduction’, p. xvii.

attempts to supply an account based on such orthodox sources as Augustine's *De sancta uirginitate*.

Date: ca 1005–6

MSS: C [Ker §52.27], pp. 132–41;
H [Ker §220.49], fols 182v–184v [imperfect at edges of leaves];¹³⁷
Q [Ker §43.35], pp. 357–74; and
S [Ker §333.10], pp. 152–79

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 8; previously Assmann 3 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 24–48).

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS C, H, and Q are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275>.

Notes: For a discussion of Ælfric's change of mind and a comparison of his attitude towards Marian apocrypha with that of other writers in the Benedictine Reform, see Clayton (*Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 244–8; and 'Nativity') and Hill ('Gelasius'). Cf. 1.6.1.2.2 above.

1.6.1.3. *The Common of the Saints*

†1.6.1.3.1. [B.1.5.11] *Sermo in natale unius confessoris*

Occasion: Common of a Confessor

Overview: Ælfric here exposit Matthew 24.42–7, the pericope for a confessor bishop (Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 35), in which Christ warns his disciples that he will return like a thief in the night to recompense those whom he has put in charge of his household. Ælfric examines a series of unfaithful figures (Uzziah, Arius, Solomon, and so forth) to show that while God may delay judgement to give men time for repentance, judgement is inevitable nonetheless.

Date: Early in the period between [A] late 1006 (perhaps after 16 November) to 1007 and [B] 1012 to 1013^{1/2} (possibly before late summer)¹³⁸

MSS: B [Ker §310.84], fols 167v–170r;
P2 [not in Ker (would have followed §332.24)]¹³⁹

¹³⁷ MS H contains the unique witness to *De sancta uirginitate* (1.6.1.2.2 below), a composite homily including Assmann 2, lines 13–224 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 13–3) and Assmann 3, lines 505–97 (p. 44).

¹³⁸ That is, early in the episcopal tenure of Æthelwold II.

¹³⁹ MS P2, the third of six consecutive leaves missing from Hatton 115 after fol. 82v, preserves Assmann 4, lines 88b [*dom underfon*] – 150 [*and unmytwyrðe*] (Colgrave and Hyde, 'Recently Discovered Leaves', pp. 68–70). This copy of the *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* should not be confused with the imperfectly ending copy of *In natale unius confessoris* (CH II.38) which precedes it in Hatton 115 [Ker §332.24]; see also Clemoes, 'Supplementary Introduction', p. xxiii.

- Q [Ker §43.45], pp. 451–60;
 R1 [Ker §41A.11], pp. 126–34;
 S [Ker §333.16], pp. 290–4 and 253–61;
 T2 [Ker §331.76], fols 230r–235v; and
 f^k [Ker §222.38], fol. ‘171’ [disarranged; presently fol. 77]
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 9; previously Assmann 4 (*Angelsächsichen Homilien*, pp. 49–64).
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Colgrave and Hyde, ‘Recently Discovered Leaves’, plates 3 and 4 (following p. 76). Complete sets of images of MSS Q and R1 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Notes: Not collated by Assmann: P2 [not in Ker], which was originally a leaf from P1 [Ker §332].¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of the manuscript, see Colgrave and Hyde. On the Latin notes associated with the *Sermo*, see 8.3 below.
- †1.6.1.3.2. [B.1.5.12] *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ*
- Occasion: Dedication of a Church
- Overview: Having swiftly summarized Christ’s healing of the blind man outside Jericho (Luke 18.35–43, also treated in *CHI*.10), Ælfric treats the story of Zaccheus (Luke 19.1–10), interpreting Christ’s perception of Zaccheus as God’s love or election, and the sycamore tree that Zaccheus climbs as the cross to which the believer must cling. Comparing Zaccheus’ generosity with that of Simon the Pharisee, furthermore (Luke 7.36–50), Ælfric emphasizes the importance of giving to the needy.
- Date: ca 998 x 1002, or perhaps earlier in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 998¹⁴¹
- MSS: J2 [Ker §283.8], fols 51r–58v;
 T2 [Ker §331.77], fols 236r–242v;
 Xⁱ [Ker §364A], fols 156r–160r; and
 Y1 [not in Ker], fols 93r–107r¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Here and below, references to manuscripts not collated by particular editions are drawn primarily from Frank and Cameron.

¹⁴¹ Pope argues that the homily’s ‘mainly non-rhythmical form points to its having been composed soon after the completion of [*CH* II]’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 141 n. 1); Clemoes, however, places it in the period ca 998 x 1002 (*‘Chronology’*, pp. 51, 54, and 56).

¹⁴² Szentiványi lists ‘Sermones de animabus, de antichristo. Aelfricus OSB. /?/: De dedicatione’ as §35g in this manuscript, giving fols 93r–107r as the range for the entry and citing both Xⁱ and Brotanek’s edition of *De dedicatione* (*Catalogus*, p. 28). I am indebted to Charlie Wright for calling this late Romanian manuscript to my attention.

- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 10; previously Brotanek 1 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, pp. 3–15) and Ebersperger (*Die angelsächsischen Handschriften*, pp. 237–62).
- Notes: Arguments for Ælfric’s authorship are set forth in Pope (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 141 n. 1).

1.6.1.4. Unspecified occasions¹⁴³

†1.6.1.4.1. *Esto consentiens aduersario**¹⁴⁴

- Overview: Using Matthew 5.25–6 as his starting point – Christ’s warning to be reconciled to him whom one has offended before one is handed over to the Judge – Ælfric speaks of men’s need to shun sin, take on Christ’s yoke, and ‘earn’ the right to come to the heavenly banquet.
- Date: Late in the period *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MS: T3 [Ker §338.28], fols 124r–130v
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 11; previously collated in Assmann 1 [4.3.4 below].
- Notes: This homily may be a late re-use by Ælfric of the latter part of Ælfric’s *Letter to Wulfgeat* (Assmann 1, lines 90–312) [4.3.4 below]. The text includes an eight-line introduction that Pope does not view as Ælfric’s work.¹⁴⁵

1.6.1.4.2. [B.1.5.13] *Hexameron*

- Overview: Primarily a literal account and exegesis of the six days of Creation, the text includes a discussion of the Trinity, the dating of Creation and of Easter, cosmology, the fall of the angels and of men, and mankind’s redemption through Christ. For many of these topics, *cf.* CH I.1 and *De temporibus anni* [1.1 above and 2.3 below].
- Date: Later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998
- MSS: O [Ker §56.1], pp. 11–22;
P1 [Ker §332.1], fols 1r–10r;
Q [Ker §43.1], pp. 3–15 [beginning supplied on pp. 1–2];
R1, pp. 15–30, and R2, p. 139 [Ker §41A.2];
S [Ker §333.17], pp. 261–78 and 295–300;

¹⁴³ Clemoes and/or Pope also include CH I.1, LS 15 [Skeat I.16], SH II.18–20, and SH I.11a (‘Chronology’, p. 35; and *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 141–2, respectively). Items here are presented in alphabetical order (discounting *De*).

¹⁴⁴ As with other homilies titled by Upchurch and Kleist, phrase drawn from the beginning of the pericope with which the text opens.

¹⁴⁵ *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 72 and 142; introduction printed by Assmann, apparatus for line 90. For Clemoes’ association of the text with Ælfric, see ‘Chronology’, pp. 52, 55, and 57.

X^d [Ker §182.5], fols 149v–151v [part of *De creatore et creatura*];
 fi⁽¹⁾ [Ker §177A.2], fol. '8rv'/lrv [see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 225]; and
 Tr10 [not in Ker]

- Edition: Crawford, *Hexameron*, pp. 33–74. Forthcoming edition by Loredana Teresi.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS O, Q, R1, and X^d are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275>, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>, and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_C_I/2.
- Translation: Crawford, *Hexameron*, pp. 33–74; and Norman, *Hexameron*, pp. 3–29, but on the latter, see 2.2 below.
- Notes: Ælfric's *Hexameron* is not simply a translation of Basil, as Norman's edition would have it, but a work that draws on a number of sources including Bede, Gregory, Isidore, Alcuin, and Augustine (Crawford, *Hexameron*, p. 30). For Ælfric's place in the hexameral exegetical tradition, see for example Fox, 'Augustinian Hexameral Exegesis'.
 Not collated by Crawford: X^d.

†1.6.14.3. *Menn behofiað godre lare*¹⁴⁶

- Overview: In this homiletic piece drawn from the vernacular preface to *CH I*, Ælfric speaks of the imminence of the last times, the coming of the Antichrist, the importance of perseverance in trial, and the need for teachers to instruct believers in the faith.
- Date: Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 [*CH I* phase ε¹, MS P] or ca 1005–6 [*CH I* Phase ε³];
 Augmented form ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [*CH I* Phase ε⁴, Stages 4a and 4b]
- MSS: P1 [Ker §332.28], fols 99v–101v [independent piece];
 Q [Ker §43.43], pp. 87–96 [extract augmented with two short additions and incorporated into *CH I.39*];
 R1 [Ker §41A.12], pp. 134–7 [independent piece augmented with two short additions]; and
 T3 [Ker §338.34], fols 154v–157r [independent piece following slightly after copy of *CH I.39* found in fols 138r–142r (Ker §338.31)]
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 12; passage previously edited by Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 174–6.

¹⁴⁶ Title taken from the opening of the text in MSS R, P [*Læwede menn behofiað goddre lare*], and T; the text is titled *De anticristo* in R.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS Q and R1 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.

Translation: Passage translated by Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 3–7

Notes: Clemoes assigns the work to Ælfric, suggesting that *CH* I.pref.57–119 has been ‘authentically adapted to form a short independent piece’.¹⁴⁷ Clayton, in keeping with her view of Ælfric’s responsibility for the R-type collection, likewise suggests that texts like *Menn behofiað* in R are ‘probably by Ælfric’;¹⁴⁸ see 2.1.3 below.

Pope proposes that *Menn behofiað*, like *De septiformi spiritu* [2.1.4], *Be þam halgan gaste* [2.1.5], *Quomodo Acitofel* [3.2.2], *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [3.2.3], *De uaniloquio neglegentium* [3.2.4], *Letter to Brother Edward* [4.3.1], *Læwedum mannum is to witenne* [4.4.4], *De auaritia* [7.2], *De cogitatione* [7.3], *De infantibus* [7.9], and possibly *De duodecim abusiuis* [2.1.2], all of which appear in MSS P, R, and/or S, may have been composed independently by Ælfric and set aside for later (re-)use, being kept in ‘a book in which short themes, *obiter dicta*, and letters were put on record from time to time as they were composed’.¹⁴⁹ From this book, Pope suggests, someone produced an Ælfrian miscellany upon which the above manuscripts drew.¹⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion of PRS in relationship to MSS Y4, Y25, and X^a, see Kleist, ‘Commonplace Book’.

†1.6.1.4.4. *De uirginitate**

Overview: This homily, perhaps for the Assumption (15 August)¹⁵¹ or Nativity of the Virgin (8 September),¹⁵² discusses [1] marriage, widowhood, and virginity in terms of the good soil which brings forth a thirty-, sixty- or hundred-fold crop (Matthew 13.8); [2] Christian standards for marriage and vows of chastity; [3] obedience and spiritual almsgiving; and [4] first-fruits and tithes.

Date: ca 1005–6

MS: V1a [Ker §68.15]; pp. 347–66

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 13. Pieces previously edited as [1] Assmann 2, lines 132–88, from Ælfric’s *Letter to Sigefyrth* [4.3.3 below]; [2] *SH* II.19.34–43 and 53–60; [3] *SH* II.30.1–74; and [4] *SH* II.30.75–114.

¹⁴⁷ *First Series*, pp. 35 and 116; see also pp. 119, 34, 98, 120–1, and 123–4.

¹⁴⁸ *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁹ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 57.

¹⁵⁰ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 57; see also pp. 55–6, 63, 66–7, 69, and 305.

¹⁵¹ If so, the text might be considered alongside three other Ælfrian compositions for the Assumption: *CH* I.30, *CH* II.29, and *De sancta uirginitate* [1.1, 1.2, and 1.6.1.2.2 above].

¹⁵² Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 799 and 801–2.

Digital Images: The whole of MS V1a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sb541hg4710>.

Notes: While Clemoes initially attributes the compilation to Ælfric,¹⁵³ and Pope acknowledges Ælfric's authorship of the pieces that make it up,¹⁵⁴ Pope is unsure that Ælfric himself compiled the pieces in MS V: 'It is probably impossible to be certain that he did not, for one cannot expect unfailingly high standards of organization from so prolific and so practical an author. But MS V shows no concern for the authorship or the textual authority of its homilies, and this compilation is so pedestrian that I am inclined to attribute it to some less gifted preacher.'¹⁵⁵ Kezel, however, more recently reviewing the evidence, concludes that 'we are reasonably justified in viewing [both *De uirginitate* and *De sancta uirginitate* (1.6.1.2.2 above)] as authentic works of Ælfric' ('Ælfric the Benedictine', p. 171; see also pp. 163–70).

¹⁵³ 'Chronology', pp. 52 and 57. Clemoes later tempers his view to say that 'Ælfric himself may or may not have been responsible for this compilation' ('Supplementary Introduction', p. xviii).

¹⁵⁴ *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 799.

¹⁵⁵ *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 802. Scragg, citing this reference, likewise suggests that the compiler was 'probably not Ælfric' ('Vernacular Homilies', p. 101).

2. Separate Works

2.1. Tracts Allied to the Homilies and Treated as Such in Certain Manuscripts¹⁵⁶

2.1.1. [B.1.6.1] *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*

Overview: Primarily a translation and abridgement of Alcuin's *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim*, a set of replies to questions raised by Alcuin's friend and pupil Sigewulf, Ælfric's work treats such subjects as God's creative purpose, the natural world (a section which includes material from Bede on the planets), the origin of evil, and major events from the first three Ages of the world. Ælfric may have produced the commentary to clothe *þa nacedan gereced-nisse* ('the bare narrative') of the part of Genesis he had translated.¹⁵⁷

Date: Earlier in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998

MSS: C [Ker §57.66], pp. 317–27;
P1 [Ker §332.32], fols 121r–131v;
R2 [Ker §41A.3], pp. 139–60;
S [Ker §333.18], pp. 300–29;
T2 [Ker §331.38], fol. 19r;
W [Ker §162.48], fols 230r–238r; and
X^h [Ker §239.7], fols 90rv (to 90v/17)

Edition: MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version' (1884), pp. 2–56; and Stoneman, 'Critical Edition', pp. 78–239.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS C, R2, W, and X^h are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII, and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3271.

Notes: While MacLean is still the standard edition of the *Interrogationes*, it has been superseded by two nineteenth-century dissertations by Mitchell and Tessmann (the first of which includes a German translation) and the more recent dissertation by Stoneman.¹⁵⁸ The last is a comprehensive edition that collates manuscripts omitted by MacLean (X^h) and Tessmann (T2). For a textual and stylistic introduction to the *Interrogationes*, see MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version' (1883) and Stoneman, 'Critical Edition', pp. 1–76.

¹⁵⁶ Subcategory proposed by Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 142.

¹⁵⁷ Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 40; and Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 56. For the quotation, see Marsden, 'Prefatio to Genesis', lines 44–5.

¹⁵⁸ See also Pope's commentary on MacLean's 'diplomatic transcript of R' for the portion of the *Interrogationes* reflected in *SH* I.11a.197–234 (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 471, apparatus).

2.1.2. [B.1.6.2] *De duodecim abusiuis*

- Overview: Ælfric here warns different groups of people of particular vices against which they should guard: the wise against evil deeds, the elderly against impiety, youths against disobedience, the rich against parsimony, women against licentiousness, Christians in general against quarrelsomeness, the poor against pride, rulers (to whose responsibilities Ælfric devotes two substantial sections) against timidity and unrighteousness, bishops against negligence, and the populace as a whole against indiscipline and lawlessness.
- Date: ca 995 x ca 998
- MSS: C [Ker §57.63], pp. 296–301;
G [Ker §209.6], fols 15r–21r; and
P1 [Ker §332.31], fols 116r–121r
[V2 [Ker §69], now lost¹⁵⁹]
[W [Ker §162], now lost¹⁶⁰]
- Edition: Clayton, *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 112–36; previously Warner (*Early English Homilies*, pp. 11–16), from G.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS C is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>.
- Translation: Clayton, *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 113–37.
- Notes: Ælfric's slightly abridged translation of *De duodecim abusiuis sæculi*, an anonymous seventh-century Irish work falsely attributed to Cyprian,¹⁶¹ appears in two forms: as a standalone text and as the last part of a composite text, known in full as *De octo uitiiis et de duodecim abusiuis* [2.1.3 below]. On the possible relationship of *De duodecim abusiuis* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

2.1.3. *De octo uitiiis et de duodecim abusiuis**

- Overview: Having warned in his introduction against excess in feasting and fasting, Ælfric speaks of the eight chief sins (here listed as greed, adultery [*fornicatio* rather than *luxuria*], avarice, anger, sadness [*tristitia*], sloth, vainglory [*iactantia*], and pride; not envy [*inuidia*]) and eight chief virtues (here given as temperance, chastity, generosity [*largitas*], patience, spiritual happiness [*spiritualis laetitia*], perseverance in good works [*instantia boni operis* rather than *industria*],

¹⁵⁹ Parker's table of contents indicates that *De duodecim abusiuis* once started on p. 356, but it has now been lost (Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 117).

¹⁶⁰ The contemporary table of contents indicates that *De duodecim abusiuis* once followed the now-imperfect SH II.21 (Ker §162.49; see also Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 63).

¹⁶¹ The original text of which may be found in Hellmann, *Pseudo-Cyprianus*, pp. 1–62 (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. xiv).

true love for God [*soðe lufu to Gode*], and humility; not kindness [*humanitas*, opposing *inuidia*]), before turning to the discussion of twelve vices comprising *De duodecim abusiuis* [2.1.2 above].

- Date: ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
[Part of *LS* 12 (Skeat I.13.98–101, corresponding to *De octo uitiiis* 7 [*swa swa*] – 9 [*miltsunge*]) and part of *LS* 15 (Skeat I.16.267–381, corresponding to *De octo uitiiis* 12–92): Middle of the period ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 998]
- MSS: R1 [Ker §41A.7], pp. 73–88;
S [Ker §333.19], pp. 329–47; and
Xⁱ [Ker §282¹⁶²], fols 37v–45r
- Edition: Clayton, *Two Ælfrian Texts*, pp. 142–76; previously Morris (*Old English Homilies*, pp. 107[*line* 21, beginning *Nu beoð .xii. unþeawas*] – 119; and 299 [*line* 1, beginning with *Nu synd twelf abusiua*] – 304), from Xⁱ and R, respectively.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS R1 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Translation: Clayton, *Two Ælfrian Texts*, pp. 143–77.
- Notes: The composite sermon comprises an introduction (lines 1–11¹⁶³), a treatment of chief sins and virtues (lines 12–92), and *De duodecim abusiuis* (lines 93–270), the last of which appears independently in three other manuscript. The section on sins and virtues corresponds to *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16] (lines 267–381), which Clayton suggests may have been circulated independently by Ælfrian before being incorporated into *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16] and later into *De octo uitiiis*.¹⁶⁴ Clemoes described the compilation as ‘possibly not by Ælfrian’, noting that since the introduction is not in rhythmical prose, it ‘cannot be regarded as certainly genuine’.¹⁶⁵ Pope, citing the same argument, assigned the introduction and combination of part of *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381] and *De duodecim abusiuis* to the author of the colophon in MS R (*Her geendað seo forme boc* [8.7 below]), who notes that *De octo uitiiis* has been augmented [*geeacnode*] from another sermon.¹⁶⁶ Clayton, however, has argued cogently for Ælfrian’s authorship of the Old English portion of the colophon and of *De*

¹⁶² Contents not itemized in Ker; see now Clayton, *Two Ælfrian Texts*, pp. 14–16.

¹⁶³ Lines 1–2 echoing part of *LS* 1 [Skeat I.1.162–3] and lines 7–9 [*‘swa swa us secgað ... Godes miltsunge’*] corresponding to part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101]; see Clayton, *Two Ælfrian Texts*, p. 142 nn. 2 and 4; and Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, p. 71 n. 86.

¹⁶⁴ *Two Ælfrian Texts*, p. 10. These lines are found independently, in fact, in G, entitled *De octo principalibus uiciis* (part of *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16.267–312] [Ker §209.7]) and *De octo uirtutibus* (part of *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16.312–381] [§209.8]).

¹⁶⁵ ‘Chronology’, pp. 70–1 n. 86.

¹⁶⁶ *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 63–4; cf. pp. 142 n. 5 and 373–4.

octo uitii as a whole,¹⁶⁷ as well as of the ancestor of ‘the R-type collection’, surviving at least in R and its shared material in S [Ker §333.17–21].¹⁶⁸ This view would affect our understanding of other items in R as well: while noting objections by Clemoes to the *Letter to Brother Edward* and *De infantibus*, and Godden’s doubts regarding the latter, she concludes that all texts in two-book collection ‘are probably by Ælfric’.¹⁶⁹

†2.1.4. [B.1.6.3] *De septiformi spiritu (in Latin)*

Overview: Ælfric briefly describes the Spirit of wisdom, understanding, counsel, courage, knowledge, righteousness, and the fear of the Lord which Isaiah says will rest on Christ (Isaiah 11.2–3), and the spirit of folly, indiscipline, imprudence, cowardice, ignorance, impiety, and rashness that forms the opposite.

Date: ca 998 x 1002

MSS: B [Ker §310.69], fols 140v–141r;
P1 [Ker §332.16], fol. 61rv;
S [Ker §333.22], pp. 373–4;
T1 [Ker §331.8], fol. 27rv;¹⁷⁰
U [Ker §86.16], pp. 244–5; and
X^f [§199B], fol. 28rv

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 17; previously Napier 7 (*Wulfstan*, p. 50).

Translation: Teresi, ‘Possible Source’, p. 109 n. 15.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS U and X^f are available at <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=235> and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_C_VI.

Notes: Ælfric’s description of the Spirit’s gifts, drawn from Ambrosius Autpertus’s *Expositio in Apocalypsin*,¹⁷¹ is found in two forms, one in Latin (Napier 7), the other in Old English (Napier 8). Perhaps too narrow and brief to be a homily, the text was likely written for Wulfstan, who expanded it.¹⁷² Wulfstan’s revised version (the Old English portion of Bethurum 9 [185–91]) is printed immediately after

¹⁶⁷ ‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’ and *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 23–30.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 377–8, 383–4, and 389–90.

¹⁶⁹ *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 11 and n. 58. Though Pope did not attribute the colophon to Ælfric, he likewise observes: ‘Since [the author of the colophon] so positively insists that all the homilies except the two he names [the augmented *De octo uitiiis* and LS 16 (Skeat I.17)] are reproduced as he found them, there is a strong presumption that any additions we find in the other homilies were already present in the old exemplar (“on þære ealdan æ-bysne”) and are to be attributed to Ælfric himself’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 65).

¹⁷⁰ Wulfstan’s Old English version of the text, not Ælfric’s, immediately follows on fols 27v–31v.

¹⁷¹ See Teresi, ‘Possible Source’, pp. 103–6.

¹⁷² Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 142 n. 6; see also p. xiv.

Ælfric's Latin text in Napier 7 (*Wulfstan*, pp. 51–6). For a comparison of Wulfstan's and Ælfric's texts, see McIntosh.¹⁷³ On the possible relationship of *De septiformi spiritu* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

†2.1.5. [B.1.6.3] *Be þam halgan gaste*¹⁷⁴

Overview: Fleshing out in the vernacular his Latin tract (*De septiformi spiritu* [2.1.4]), Ælfric discusses the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit that abide in Christ and that should characterize believers, as well as the corresponding pernicious gifts (*ungifa*) that the devil seeks to inculcate.

Date: ca 998 x 1002

MSS: B [Ker §310.69], fol. 141rv;
N [Ker §153.31], fols 160rv;¹⁷⁵
P1 [Ker §332.16], fols 61v–63r;
S [Ker §333.22], pp. 374–7;
U [Ker §86.16], pp. 245–9;
X^f [§199B], fols 28v–30r; and
X^h [Ker §239.20], fols 124r–125r

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 16; previously Napier 8 (*Wulfstan*, pp. 56–60).

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS U, X^f, and X^h are available at <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=235>, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_C_VI, and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3271.

Notes: 'What is certain', says Teresi, 'is that Ælfric did not make up the Latin text [UK 17]: he just reproduced it ... and then translated it into Old English [UK 16], giving the Old English equivalents for the names of the gifts, and finally expanding it' into the full text of *Be þam halgan gaste*. Not collated in Napier 8: N and X^h.

¹⁷³ 'Wulfstan's Prose', pp. 121–2 and 137–8 n. 20. Teresi summarizes these changes nicely: 'Wulfstan modified the Ælfrician text partly in terms of vocabulary and style (by introducing, for example, alliterative tags, binary phrases, formulaic expressions, and other elements typical of his style), and also by adding a long final section on the deceitful and hypocritical behaviour of the Antichrist and of the men that are misled by him' ('Possible Source', p. 102).

¹⁷⁴ Title taken from the rubric to this text ('*Be þam halgan gaste on englisc*' in full) in MS X^h, fol. 124r. The only other rubrics are found in MS S, p. 374 ('*Pæt ilce on englisc*') and MS X^f, fol. 28v ('[p[Æt] ylce on englisc'), both indicating continuity with the preceding *De septiformi spiritu* [2.1.4]. Teresi refers to the work as 'the *seofanfealdan Godes gifa*', reflecting a major portion of the work ('Possible Source'); for Ælfric's treatment of *ungifa* ('evil gifts') in the last part of *Be þam halgan gaste*, see also *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [1.6.1.1.7] above.

¹⁷⁵ The composite homily in N (*Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* [1.6.1.1.7 above]) begins imperfectly, a leaf having been lost. The opening page – marked '160' in the lower-right corner, as one of four differing pagination marks on the page – begins '[wið]utan bið gesewen', as Napier 8, p. 58, line 1. The Napier portion ends with 'gramlican deofles' (p. 60, line 4) on at the bottom of fol. 160v (lines 23–4).

On the possible relationship of *Be þam halgan gaste* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

†2.1.6. [B.1.6.4] *De creatore et creatura*

- Overview: Part of an outline of world history that continues in *De sex etatibus huius seculi* [2.1.7 below], *De creatore* moves from a discussion of the Trinity to consider the creation and fall of mankind.
- Date: ca 1006
- MSS: X^d [Ker §182.5], fols 149r–151v
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 14; previously Stoneman, 'Critical Edition', pp. 292–329) and partially by Leinbaugh, 'Liturgical Homilies', pp. 95–9.¹⁷⁶
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^d is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_C_I/2.
- Notes: The unique copy of *De creatore* and its counterpart, *De sex etatibus*, are found in X^d, fols 149r–151v and fols 151v–152v and 154rv, respectively [Ker §182.5 and 6]. Originally part of a separate work that was added to the manuscript, the text is badly damaged and partially retouched (often incorrectly) by a twelfth-century hand.¹⁷⁷ Much of *De creatore* can be read, however, with the aid of parallel passages from the *Hexameron* and the interrelated *Sermo in natali domini* [UK 1], *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9], and *LS* 1 [Skeat I.1] [1.6.1.4.2, 1.6.1.1.2, 1.6.1.1.1, and 3.2.1].

†2.1.7. [B.1.6.5] *De sex etatibus huius seculi*¹⁷⁸

- Overview: Continuing the treatment of world history and doctrine begun in *De creatore et creatura* [2.1.6 above], *De sex etatibus* discusses the Six Ages of the world and the Ten Commandments.
- Date: ca 1006

¹⁷⁶ While Clemoes indicated that he would be editing *De creatore* and *De sex etatibus* ('Chronology', p. 61 n. 7), these editions regrettably did not appear.

¹⁷⁷ See Leinbaugh, 'Damaged Passage' and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 86.

¹⁷⁸ A degree of debate (and thus potential confusion) surrounds this title. Ker, writing in 1957 (§182.6 [Catalogue, p. 237]), and Clemoes, perhaps drawing on him in 1959 ('Chronology', p. 57), both list this text as *De sex etatibus huius mundi* ('About the Six Ages of this World'). Only part of the title now is legible: examining the manuscript in white and ultraviolet light, one finds the running headers 'DE SEX ETATIBUS HUI' on fol. 152r and 'DE SEX ETATIBUS H' on 154r, and no title introduces the text on fol 151v. Wanley, however, writing in 1705 before the Cottonian fire, calls it 'DE SEX ETATIBVS HVIVS SECVLI' (Catalogue, p. 212), and Sisam in 1923 ('Old English Translation', p. 205), Pope in 1967 (noting that the words '*Huius Seculi*' were 'still partly visible' [Homilies, vol. I, p. 86 n. 1]), and Stoneman in 1983 ('Critical Edition', p. 365) follow suit.

- MSS: X^d [Ker §182.5], fols 151v–152v and 154rv
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 15; previously Tristram, *Sex aetates*, pp. 195–201; and Stoneman, ‘Critical Edition’, pp. 355–64.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^d is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_C_I/2.
- Notes: That the Ages and Commandments were topics of some importance to Ælfric is apparent given his additional treatment of the former in his *Letter to Sigeweard* and CH II.4 [4.3.2 and 1.1] and of the latter in his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan*, *Decalogus Moysi*, CH II.12, and CH I.12 [4.1.6, 6.3, 1.2, and 1.1] (see Kleist, ‘Influence’ and ‘Division’). Pope suggests that *De creatore* and *De sex etatibus* ‘may have formed the body of an instructive letter of the sort that Ælfric wrote for Wulfgeat and for Sigeweard’.¹⁷⁹

2.2. [B.1.9.3] *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*

- Overview: The *Admonitio* is a translation from Pseudo-Basil’s work of the same title¹⁸⁰ with instruction for monks and nuns on such subjects as spiritual warfare, the love of God and one’s neighbour, the virtues of peace and purity, and the dangers of vanity and greed. Hill notes that ‘the message of the text is also suitable for monks and nuns living according to the Rule’.¹⁸¹
- Date: ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: Y23 [Ker §328A.2], fols 55r–67v;
Tr8 [not in Ker]; and
Tr11 [not in Ker]
- Editions: Norman, *St Basil’s Admonitio*, pp. 32–54; Mueller, ‘St Basil’s *Admonitio*’ [unpubl. PhD diss.]; and Locherbie-Cameron, ‘Old English Admonition’ [unpubl. PhD diss.]; Old English preface also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 122.
- Translation: Norman, *St Basil’s Admonitio*, pp. 33–55.
- Notes: While Norman is still the standard edition, scholars have questioned the accuracy of both his edition and translation. Mueller updates both, providing palaeographical analysis and printing the *Admonitio* as verse.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 87.

¹⁸⁰ Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, p. 381 [§1155a].

¹⁸¹ ‘Life and Works’, p. 60.

¹⁸² As noted by Reinsma, *Annotated Bibliography*, pp. 153–4.

2.3. [B.1.9.4] *De temporibus anni*¹⁸³

- Overview: In large part a translation and condensation of Bede's *De temporum ratione*, *De temporibus anni* provides an analysis both of astronomical time (calculating such things as the first day of creation, the first day of the year, Easter and the spring equinox, and the solar and lunar calendars) and of cosmology (the earth, the stars, the four elements, forms of precipitation, and so forth).
- Date: Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992 or 992, after January x June
- MSS: K [Ker §15.93], fols 255r–261v;
X^e [Ker §186.13], fols 65v–73r;
f^{a(1)} [Ker §62], fols 1r, 2r, and 7r–10r;
Y12a [Ker §139B.1 and 4], fols 142rv and 144r–153v;
Y16a [Ker §193A], fols 24r–28v;
Y18b [Ker §202F], fols 30r–54r;
Y19 [Ker §221.3], fols 22v–24v;
Y27 [Ker §393], fol. 114v; and
Tr9 [not in Ker]
- Edition: Blake, *De temporibus anni*, pp. 76–96; previously Henel, *De temporibus anni*, pp. 2–82.
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Leaves of *De temporibus anni*, lines 1–13a (MS K, fol. 255r [Blake, *De temporibus anni*, p. 16; and Henel, *De temporibus anni*, frontispiece]), 208–61 (MS f^a, fol. 7r [Henel, *De temporibus anni*, following p. xvi]) and 263b–98a (MS K, fol. 259r [Blake, *De temporibus anni*, p. 69]). Complete sets of images of MSS Y12a, Y27, and f^{a(1)} are available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Caligula_A_XV, http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1283.pt.A, and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/hp566jq8781>.
- Translation: Blake, *De temporibus anni*, pp. 77–97.
- Notes: Blake surveys Ælfric's career, early writings, and treatment of biblical quotations; considers such issues as the text's authorship, date, sources, manuscripts, and textual influence; and touches on larger subjects related to the work, such as medieval cosmology and computus (*De temporibus anni*, pp. 1–73). For possible autobiographical details in *De temporibus*, see Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 59 and n. 83, noting the contrasting positions of Henel, *De temporibus anni*, pp. xlv–xlvi; and Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', pp. 177–8; cf. Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 134–5 and 127. Not collated by Henel (but

¹⁸³ Note that while Pope places *De temporibus* in his subcategory of 'tracts allied to the homilies and treated as such in certain manuscripts' (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 142–3), Ælfric's introduction specifies that *nis to spelle geteald* ('it is not intended as a homily' [Blake, *De temporibus*, pp. 76–7]; see 8.4 below).

included by Blake): Y19 [Ker §221.3]. For the Old English note that introduces *De temporibus* in MS K (and which is partially incorporated into the main text of Y16a), see 8.4 below.

2.4. Grammatical Works¹⁸⁴

2.4.1. [B.1.9.1] Grammar¹⁸⁵

Overview: Perhaps the first grammar of Latin in the English vernacular,¹⁸⁶ the *Grammar* served along with the *Glossary* and *Colloquy* [2.4.2 and 2.4.3] as tools for addressing pedagogical needs at Cerne, 'building up a basic understanding of Latin quickly and efficiently in a small community where the teachers may have been few in number and perhaps less confident than would have been the case in a leading centre such as Winchester'.¹⁸⁷

Date: Earlier in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998

MSS: X^c [Ker §154A.1], fols 3r–92r;
X^h [Ker §239.5], fols 7r–90r;
Y24 [Ker §362.1 and 4], fols 1r–146r, with glosses in fols 204r–221v;
GG1 [Ker §71], fols 1r–89r;
GG2 [Ker §89.1], fols 3r–44v;
GG3 [Ker §17], fols 1r–93v;
GG4 [Ker §107B], fols 56r–127r;
GG5 [Ker §158.1], fols 10r–120r,¹⁸⁸
GG6 [Ker §227.1], fols 1r–69v;
GG7a [Ker §242], fols 8r–9v;
GG7b [Ker §384];
GG8a [Ker §265], fols 2r–9r;
GG8b [Ker §265], fols 1r–12r;
GG9 [Ker §269], fols 5r–70v;
GG10 [Ker §298a and c], additions on fol. 57rv¹⁸⁹ and 6r;
GG12 [Ker §363]; and
GG13 [Ker §398.1], fols 1r–63r,¹⁹⁰ as well as
Tr3 [Ker §406a], fols 32r–36r; and
Tr5 [Ker §406c and d], fols 213r–215r¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ Category proposed by Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 16–17.

¹⁸⁵ Also known as *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice* (Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, p. 4). Classed with 'Grammatical Works' by Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 16.

¹⁸⁶ The exception may be a short Old Irish Primer; see Gade, 'Ælfric in Iceland', p. 322.

¹⁸⁷ Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 57.

¹⁸⁸ Or perhaps fol. 120v; neither Zupitza nor Ker specify on which folio the *Grammar* transitions to the *Glossary*, though Ker does note that the latter begins on fol. 120v (*Catalogue*, p. 201).

¹⁸⁹ Ker does not specify which parts of fol. 57rv contain extracts from the *Grammar* as opposed to the *Glossary*.

¹⁹⁰ Neither Zupitza nor Ker specify on which folio the *Grammar* transitions to the *Glossary*.

¹⁹¹ Fols 213r–215r actually encompass Ker §406A–D, but Ker does not specify the pagination for sections within this range (*Catalogue*, pp. 470–1).

- Editions: Zupitza, *Grammatik und Glossar*, pp. 1–296; Latin and Old English prefaces ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 114–16. Edition of GG7b by Lucas and Wilcox, *Manuscripts*, pp. 2–3 (§14). Edition of Worcester 174 by Butler.¹⁹²
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Harley 5915, fols 8r–9v, and GG7b, recto and verso, printed by Lucas and Wilcox, *Manuscripts* (§§14 and 277, respectively). GG7b, recto, also printed by Collins, *Vernacular Manuscripts*, plate 4. Complete sets of manuscript images are available as follows:
X^c, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Faustina_A_X;
X^h, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3271;
GG1, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/bq166fm4860>;
GG2, <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1667>;
GG3, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-HH-00001-00010/1>;
GG5, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_A_II; and
GG9, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_15_B_XXII.
- Translation: Latin preface trans. Wilcox (*Prefaces*, p. 130).
- Notes: Zupitza's work, part two of which was never published, is still the standard edition of the *Grammar*. Ancillary manuscripts that he does not take into account, however, include the fragments in Harley 5915 (part of GG7b, which Zupitza collates); transcriptions in Tr3 and Tr5; and the additions in GG10.

2.4.2. [B.1.9.2] *Glossary*¹⁹³

- Overview: The *Glossary* seems to have served along with the *Grammar* and *Colloquy* [2.4.1 and 2.4.3] as part of Ælfric's programme of Latin instruction, providing words that complement but do not duplicate those found in the other texts.
- Date: Earlier in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998
- MSS: X^c [Ker §154A.1], fols 3r–92r and 92v–100r;
Y24 [Ker §362.1], fols 146r–60r;
GG1 [Ker §71], fols 89r–96v;
GG3 [Ker §17], fol. 93v, lines 8–26;
GG5 [Ker §158.1], fols 120v–130v;

¹⁹² To my knowledge, a proposed edition by Ronald Buckalew regrettably is not now forthcoming for the Early English Text Society.

¹⁹³ Otherwise titled *Nomina multarum rerum Anglice* (Zupitza, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, p. 297).

GG6 [Ker §227.1], fols 69v–71v;
GG10 [Ker §298A], additions on fol. 57rv;¹⁹⁴
GG11 [Ker §317B(i)], fol. 146v, col. 1/1–col. 2/36 and col. 3/22–44 [text corresponding to part of the *Glossary*, with additions]; and
GG13 [Ker §398.1], fols 1r–63r;¹⁹⁵ as well as
Tr1 [Ker §405c], fol. 4v;
Tr3 [Ker §§405a and 406], fols 16r–19v and 32r–36r;
Tr4 [Ker §405d];
Tr5 [Ker §405 and 406a], fols 208r–213r and 213r–215r;¹⁹⁶ and
Tr7 [Ker §405b], fols 248r–253v

Edition: Zupitza (*Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, pp. 297–322) and Gillingham, ‘Old English–Latin Glossary’ [unpubl. PhD diss.].¹⁹⁷

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS X^c, GG1, GG3, and GG5 are available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Faustina_A_X, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/bq166fm4860>, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-HH-00001-00010/1> and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_A_II.

Notes: The *Glossary* should be distinguished from the Plantinus Glossary, also called ‘Archbishop Ælfric’s Vocabulary’, an anonymous text found in Y3b [Ker §2] (for the authorship of which, see Ladd). Gillingham shows that the *Glossary* is not, as scholars such as Förster have suggested, the source of Plantinus, but that both texts draw on a common exemplar (Reinsma, *Annotated Bibliography*, pp. 189–90; cf. Förster, ‘Die altenglische Glossenhandschrift’). Not collated by Zupitza: the marginal lemmata and glosses in X^c, fols 93r and 101r; the additions in GG10; the transcriptions in Tr1, Tr3, Tr4, Tr5, and Tr7; or the related version in GG11.

2.4.3. [C.3] *Colloquy*

Overview: A school text like the *Grammar* and *Glossary* [2.4.1–2 above], the *Colloquy* exposes students to Latin vocabulary through a series of conversations between a teacher and representatives of various occupations: a monk, a farmer, a shepherd, and so on.

Date: Earlier in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998

¹⁹⁴ Ker does not specify which parts of fol. 57rv contain extracts from the *Grammar* as opposed to the *Glossary*.

¹⁹⁵ Neither Zupitza nor Ker specify on which folio the *Grammar* transitions to the *Glossary*.

¹⁹⁶ Fols 213r–215r actually encompass Ker §406A–D, but Ker does not specify the pagination for sections within this range (*Catalogue*, pp. 470–1).

¹⁹⁷ To my knowledge, a proposed edition by Ronald Buckalew regrettably is not now forthcoming for the Early English Text Society.

The Chronology and Canon of Ælfric of Eynsham

- MSS: X^e [Ker §186.11], fols 60v–64v;
Y3a [Ker §2 (see *Catalogue*, p. 2)], fols 18r–19v (margins);
Y3b [Ker §2 (see *Catalogue*, p. 2)], fols 16v–17v (margins); and
Y24 [Ker §362.4], fols 204r–221v
- Edition: Garmonsway, *Ælfric's Colloquy*, pp. 18–49.
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Opening to the *Colloquy* from X^e, fol. 60v printed by Garmonsway, *Colloquy*, frontispiece; illustration of occupations from X^e, fol. 61v printed by Traill and Mann, *Social England*, vol. I, p. 189. A complete set of images of MS Y3b is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_32246.
- Translation: Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, pp. 169–77.
- Notes: Ælfric's work should be distinguished from the *Colloquies* of his student, Ælfric Bata, whose dialogues between master and oblates include obscure vocabulary and scatological insults (see Gwara, *Colloquies*). Note that Ælfric is responsible for the Latin text only, not the Old English gloss printed by Garmonsway and included in the Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus.

3. Non-Liturgical Narrative Pieces

3.1. Old Testament

3.1.1. [B.1.5.14] *Esther*

- Overview: Ælfric's paraphrase of the biblical story of Esther describes King Ahasuerus' (Xerxes') deposition of Queen Vashti, his marriage to Esther, Haman's scheme to decimate the Jews, and the Jews' deliverance through Esther and her foster-father Mordecai.
- Date: ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: Tr12 [Ker §410], fols 140v–147v
- Edition: Assmann 8 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 92–101) and Lee, *Ælfric's Homilies* [online edition; originally unpubl. PhD diss.].
- Notes: Preserved only in a seventeenth-century transcript by William L'Isle, Ælfric's translation departs significantly from the Vulgate in its omission of the final Jewish slaughter of the Persians – a departure which may reflect Ælfric's reliance on an Old Latin version of the text rather than Ælfric's practice of translation in general (see Gustafson, 'Ælfric Reads Esther').

3.1.2. [B.1.5.15] *Judith*

- Overview: Having paraphrased the biblical story of Judith, a resourceful widow who uses her physical allure to save her city from an invading general, Ælfric presents Judith as a figure of the Church and as a model of chastity.
- Date: ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: C [Ker §57.73], pp. 356–62; and Y15 [Ker §178.1]¹⁹⁸
- Edition: Assmann 9 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 102–16) and Lee, *Ælfric's Homilies* [online edition; originally unpubl. PhD diss.].
- Digital Images: The whole of MS C is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>.
- Notes: Ælfric's translation and exegesis may be contrasted with Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2 below], which depicts Judith as a precedent for armed resistance, and with the Old English poem *Judith*, which

¹⁹⁸ For an immediate manuscript source for *Judith*, see also Y4, fol. 25rv (Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 69–71).

emphasizes oppositions in the story such as that between Judith and Holofernes.¹⁹⁹

3.1.3. [B.1.7, listed in full at B.8.1] *Heptateuch*

- Overview: This translation of the first seven books of the Old Testament, only portions of which Ælfric composed, is 'the earliest known attempt at continuous translation of the Old Testament into English'.²⁰⁰ Like Crawford before him, Marsden edits the books along with Ælfric's *De ueteri testamento et nouo* (his *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2], classed with Letters to Laymen below) and '*Prefatio to Genesis*'.²⁰¹ In the latter, Ælfric expresses his concerns to ealdorman Æthelweard about translating Scripture into the vernacular, discusses the literal and typological significance of the Old Testament, and acknowledges his authorship of the translation of Genesis 'to Isaace'.²⁰²
- Date: Earlier in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998 [*Prefatio to Genesis* and *Genesis* 1.1–24.26]; later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998 [*Joshua*]; and *ca* 998 x 1002 [*Numbers* 13.1–26.65 and *Judges*]
- MSS: L [Ker §18.1], fols 2r–24v [*Prefatio* and *Genesis* 1.1–24.26;²⁰³ verses by Ælfric: 1.1–3.24, 5.32–9.29, and 11.32b ['Her swutelað [...]'] – 22.24]; P1 [Ker §332.30], fols 108r–116r [sermon 'built around extensive translation of parts of *Judges*'²⁰⁴ (*Judges* being entirely by Ælfric)]; Za [Ker §344.1a–g and 2], fols 1r–115v [*Prefatio* and *Heptateuch*; verses by Ælfric: see below]; f⁽¹⁾ [Ker §177A.19], fols 31r–35v and 57rv²⁰⁵ [*Genesis* 40.18? (*windlas. þæt*) – 41.16? ([*mæg ic*] *don*), 43.11 (*Nimað eac*) – 44.4 (*far æfter*), and 45.3 (*hym for ege*) – 47.24 (*þa feow[er]*); verses by Ælfric: none]; Y5 [Ker §49B.56], pp. 151–60 [*Genesis* 37.2 (beginning with the preceding rubric, *Her cydde*) – 41.2 (*swiðe fætte*) and 42.20 (*to me*) – 47.18 (*sylyf wast*); verses by Ælfric: none]; Y10 [Ker §125], fols 1r–2v [*Numbers* 10.28 (*Ða hi þa ut foran*) – 16.3 (*wunað on him*); verses by Ælfric: 13.1–13.3, 13.4 excluding 'þe ys genemned Pharan', and 13.18–16.3]; Y13 [Ker §142] [*Prefatio* (beginning imperfect) and *Hexateuch*; verses by Ælfric: see below]; and Y21 [Ker §418], fols 1r–4v [*Exodus* 16.16 (*fæt ful. þe*) – 16.35 (*to chanaan*)]

¹⁹⁹ On which, see for example Clayton, 'Ælfric's *Judith*'; and Magennis, 'Contrasting Narrative Emphases'; Hostetler, 'Ælfric's *Judith*'; and Terasawa, 'Ælfric's *Judith*'.

²⁰⁰ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, cover.

²⁰¹ This form of the title follows Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 3.

²⁰² *Prefatio*, line 6 (Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 3). On the ambiguity of this phrase, see *Heptateuch*, p. lxxiii.

²⁰³ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 53; *Genesis* 24.22 in Crawford (*Heptateuch*, p. 149).

²⁰⁴ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. lxxv.

²⁰⁵ In the order fols 57rv (originally 170rv), 33rv (174rv), 31r–32v (176r–177v), 34v (178r top), 35r (178r bottom), 34r (178v top), and 35v (178v bottom); see Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. lviii–lix.

lande.), 17.1 (*Hi foron of sin*) – 17.14 (*Witodlice ic adilgige*), 19.6 (*Dis synd ða*) – 19.20 (*driht eode u[ppan]*), 19.21 (*[ga]n ofer þ age[mæro]*) – 20.21 (*þ[æt] folc wæs afæ[red]*), 23.8 (*þu lac þa*) – 23.28 (*Ær þu in fare*), 23.31 (*lc sette þine gemæro*) – 29.12 (*on þæs weofodes*), 29.46 (*[alæ]dde of Egipta lan[de]*) – 32.8 (*ut alædde of egypt[ta]*), and 32.10 (*hi fordo nu hi[g] me*) – 32.24 (*þa cw[æð] ic to*); verses by Ælfric: none]; as well as

G [Ker §209], fol. 11v [precepts derived from *Deuteronomy* 16.19 and 18.11–12 (not by Ælfric)];

Tr2 [not in Ker] [transcription by Robert Talbot (1505/06–1558) of ‘much of [Y13]’s first leaf of Ælfric’s *Prefatio*’],²⁰⁶ fols 10r–12v;

[lost MS (which may have been Y21)]²⁰⁷ [Ker §404], fols ‘2rv’ and ‘6rv’; variant readings recorded by Thwaites, *Heptateuchus*, p. 31 [*Exodus* 9.20 (*drihten ondræd*) – 10.9 (*wyllað*) and 13.19 (*moyses*) – 14.23 (*eal*)],²⁰⁸ verses by Ælfric: none]; and

Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 193 [transcription of lost incipit and explicit of fⁱ (likely not by Ælfric)]²⁰⁹

Edition: Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 3–200 [material by Ælfric: pp. 3–14, 19–25, 30–49, 144–53, 177–89, and 190–8 (or 200?)]; previously by Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 76–417 [material by Ælfric: pp. 81–91, 99–108, 114–49, 315–32, 377–97, and 398–414 (or 417?)]; the Old English preface to *Genesis* also ed. Wilcox (*Prefaces* 116–19). Note that Ker’s supplement in the 1969 reprint of Crawford edits fragments of *Genesis* and *Exodus* from Y5 and Y21 not written by Ælfric.

Facsimiles and Digital Images: Complete text from Y13 printed by Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch*. Crawford includes one illustration (Gen. 22.13 [*sunu Isaac*] – 18, Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac) from Y13, fol. 38r, along with Gen. 24.6 [*þes gewær*] – 16 [*swiðe wlitig*] from MS L (*Heptateuch*, frontispiece and plate preceding p. 147). As in Withers and in Dodwell and Clemoes, some of Crawford’s facsimiles are of material that was not composed by Ælfric: (1) an illustration from Gen. 5.12–20 in Y13, fol. 11r; (2) Deut. 32.20–36 in Za; (3) Gen. 45.25b–46.5 in Y5, p. 159; and (4) Ex. 23.31–24.6 in Y21, fol. 3v (*Heptateuch*, plates following pp. 96, 372, 454, and 460). Complete sets of images from MSS L, Y5, Y13, and Tr2 are available at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cr485km1781>, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_IV, and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fp556xm4433>; another full set of Y13 images on CD-ROM is included with Withers, *Heptateuch*.

²⁰⁶ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. xxxvi.

²⁰⁷ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. lxi.

²⁰⁸ See Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. lx–lxi.

²⁰⁹ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. xxxvi.

Notes: Ælfric's preface precedes translations of substantial parts of (a) the first six books of the Bible in Y13 – printed in facsimile by Dodwell and Clemoes as the *Hexateuch* – and (b) the first seven books of the Bible in Za, printed by Marsden as the *Heptateuch*. Crawford had used Y13 as the basis for the second half of Ælfric's *Prefatio* and for the first six books and Za for the first half of the *Prefatio* and *Judges*; Marsden, by contrast, uses Za as his base text for the *Prefatio* and seven books, collating and supplying readings where needed from Y13, and from MS P for *Judges*.²¹⁰

Not all the translations, however, were done by Ælfric. Clemoes accepts as authorial the following portions of Za and Y13: *Genesis* 1.1–3.24, 5.32–9.29, and 11.32b [*Her swutelað ...*]²¹¹ – 22.19 (with 23.1–24.10 based on a version by Ælfric but revised by the anonymous compiler[s]);²¹² *Numbers* 13.1–13.3, 13.4 excluding *þe ys genemned Pharan*, and 13.18 to the end of the book [26.65, preceded by an interpolation from 31.5–18]; *Joshua* 1.11 [*hig gearcian ...*]²¹³ – 11.23, 14.2 [interposed between 21.43 and 23.1], and 21.41–24.33; and the whole of *Judges* [in Za, not Y13];²¹⁴ with *Deuteronomy* 32.48–34.12 and *Joshua* 1.1–10 having been influenced by 'a pre-existing summary by Ælfric'.²¹⁵ Building on observations by Jost, furthermore, Clemoes suggests that the different text of *Genesis* 1.1–24.22 found in MS L may reflect Ælfric's original translation 'to Isaace'; Marsden confirms that 'There is good reason to believe that [the text in L] represents most fully this original version, although the copy is a poor one and post-dates [Za and Y13]'.²¹⁶ Jost and Clemoes were inclined to assign *Genesis* 4–5 and 10–11 in L to Ælfric, but Marsden's analysis of corruptions and idiosyncrasies in the manuscript has underscored the complexity of such assessment.²¹⁷ Nevertheless, Marsden concludes that the same incomplete copy of the Ælfrician original – the original of which could conceivably have gone through the death of Isaac in *Genesis* 35 – furnished the source both of the version in L and

²¹⁰ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. xxxiii, clxxv, and xxii.

²¹¹ Interstitial verse included in chapter 12 by Crawford (*Heptateuch*, p. 114) and referred to as such by Clemoes.

²¹² Clemoes posited a single anonymous translator, but Marsden argues for at least two; see *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 405, and below.

²¹³ Part of 1.10–11 in Marsden (*Heptateuch*, p. 177); beginning of verse 11 delineated in Crawford (*Heptateuch*, p. 378).

²¹⁴ It is unclear whether Clemoes regards the epilogue which follows *Judges* in Za (Crawford, *Heptateuch* 414–17) as Ælfrician as well. Marsden speaks of Ælfric's version of *Judges* as a 'homiletic paraphrase'; see *Heptateuch*, p. clxxvii; see also p. xxxvi and 'The Bible in English', p. 282.

²¹⁵ Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch*, pp. 48 n. 8 and 44; see also Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 56; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 143 n. 4; and Smith, *Hexateuch*.

²¹⁶ *Text of the Old Testament*, p. 404 and n. 44, citing Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch*, pp. 42–53; and Jost, 'Unechte Ælfricexte'.

²¹⁷ *Heptateuch*, pp. lxxiv–lxxxiv; see also again Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch*, pp. 42–53; and Jost, 'Unechte Ælfricexte'.

that compiled in Za and Y13.²¹⁸ Finally, regarding the anonymous material, Clemoes suggested that it may have been Byrhtferth of Ramsey who translated the rest of the *Hexateuch* and compiled it in the early eleventh century; the possibility, however, has been refuted fairly decisively by Baker.²¹⁹ Marsden argues, moreover, that stylistic variations between different parts of the anonymous translation indicate that two if not more translators must have been involved.²²⁰ For a discussion of the preface, including Ælfric's attitude towards and techniques of translating Scripture, see, for example, Griffith, 'Ælfric's Preface to Genesis'; Wilcox, 'Reluctant Translator'; and Marsden, 'Ælfric as Translator'. On the possible relationship of the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* to *Genesis*, as a commentary intended to clothe *þa nacedan gerecednisse* ('the bare narrative') of his translation, see 2.1 above.²²¹

3.2. Others²²²

3.2.1. [B.1.3] *Lives of Saints* [LS]

Overview: A popular subject for Ælfrician studies, recent examinations of the *Lives* have focused on such issues as Ælfric's source material, historical context, style and syntax, manuscript dissemination, and treatment of gender.

Dates: Composition of homiletic precursors to the LS: (ca 964 x 970) – ca 987;
Completion and initial dissemination of the *Lives of Saints*, including Latin and Old English Prefaces: Later in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 998;²²³
Composition, revision and reissue of individual homilies may be dated as follows:

²¹⁸ *Heptateuch*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv, and cxxiv.

²¹⁹ Dodwell and Clemoes, *Hexateuch*, preface and p. 52; Baker, 'Old English Canon'.

²²⁰ See 'Translation by Committee', pp. 41–89; and 'Ælfric's Errors', p. 133.

²²¹ Phrase from *Prefatio*, lines 44–5 (Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 4).

²²² Items in this category, consisting in Clemoes and Pope simply of the *Lives of Saints* and *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* ('Chronology', p. 36; and *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 143), are here presented alphabetically (discounting *De*).

²²³ Note that Jones would position the Latin preface to the *Lives* before the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, *Grammar*, *Glossary*, and *Colloquy* ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18), all of which are here dated early in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 998 or (in the case of the *Excerptiones*) slightly before. Notes for individual *Lives* and the collection as a whole may be found in the 'Compendium', Appendix 4.

Table 14 Lives of Saints Dates

By Date

LS 1 [Skeat I.1]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 15 [Skeat I.16]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 16 [Skeat I.17]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 11 [Skeat I.12]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 12 [Skeat I.13]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
Completion and initial dissemination of <i>Lives of Saints</i> , including Latin and Old English Prefaces	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 17 [Skeat I.18]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Quomodo Acitofel</i> [part of LS 18 (Skeat I.19.155–258)] (perhaps)	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>De tribus ordinibus saeculi</i> [independent circulation of LS 23 (Skeat II.25.812–62)]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
Augmented <i>Letter for Wulfsige</i> [including part of LS 12 (Skeat I.13.68–86)]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) – (<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002)
<i>In natali domini</i> [UK 2; Belfour 9] [revision of LS 1 (Skeat I.1)]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
<i>Nisi granum frumenti</i> [Irvine 4 (LS 33 [Skeat II.37] and Belfour 8)]	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
<i>De creatore et creatura</i> [with parallels to parts of LS 1 (Skeat I.1.19–38 and 44–9; see also I.1.61–3)]	<i>ca</i> 1006
Augmented LS 16 [Skeat I.17] [<i>SH</i> II.29]*	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>De octo uitiiis</i> [including part of LS 12 (Skeat I.13.98–101)]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>De octo uitiiis</i> [including part of LS 15 (Skeat I.16.267–381)]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)

The Ælfrian Canon

By Clayton–Mullins [Skeat] Number

Completion and initial dissemination of <i>Lives of Saints</i> , including Latin and Old English Prefaces	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 1 [Skeat I.1]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>In natali domini</i> [UK 2; Belfour 9] [revision of LS 1 (Skeat I.1)]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 998 x 1002
<i>De creatore et creatura</i> [with parallels to parts of LS 1 (Skeat I.1.19–38 and 44–9; see also I.1.61–3)]	<i>ca</i> 1006
LS 11 [Skeat I.12]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 12 [Skeat I.13]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
Augmented <i>Letter for Wulfsige</i> [including part of LS 12 (Skeat I.13.68–86)]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) – (<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002)
<i>De octo uitiiis</i> [including part of LS 12 (Skeat I.13.98–101)]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
<i>De octo uitiiis</i> [including part of LS 15 (Skeat I.16.267–381)]	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
LS 15 [Skeat I.16]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
LS 16 [Skeat I.17]	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
Augmented LS 16 [Skeat I.17] [<i>SH</i> II.29]*	<i>ca</i> 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
LS 17 [Skeat I.18]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Quomodo Acitofel</i> [part of LS 18 (Skeat I.19.155–258)] (perhaps)	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>De tribus ordinibus saeculi</i> [independent circulation of LS 23 (Skeat II.25.812–62)]	Later in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998
<i>Nisi granum frumenti</i> [Irvine 4 (LS 33 [Skeat II.37] and Belfour 8)]	<i>ca</i> 998 x 1002

MSS [] = MSS or Items Not Edited or Collated by Skeat]:

- B [Ker §310.22, 18, and 31]: *LS* 9 [Skeat I.10] and 28–9 [Skeat II.31–2] (including Old English preface to *LS* 29); [Ker §310.77 and 22]: *In natali domini*, revision of *LS* 1 [Skeat I.1] and *LS* 9 [Skeat I.10];
- C [Ker §57.67–8, 62, 47, and 70–2]: *LS* 11–12 [Skeat I.12–13], 15–16 [Skeat I.16–17], 18 [Skeat I.19], and 23 [Skeat II.25];
- E [Ker §48.60, 59, and 52]: *LS* 5 [Skeat I.5], 14 [Skeat I.15], and 23 [Skeat II.25];
- F [Ker §38.6]: *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13]; [Ker §38.14]: *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12];
- G [Ker §209.7–8]: *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16] [extracts];
- K [Ker §15.97]: Augmented *Letter for Wulfsgie*, including part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.68–80a] [*ðonne hi gegremedon*];
- J2 [Ker §283.6] *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13] and 18 [Skeat I.19] [extracts];
- L [Ker §18.6, 26, 19–20, 27–8, 4, 37, 35–6, 31, 39, 32, 29, 18, and 23]: *LS* 9 [Skeat I.10], 13–15 [Skeat I.14–16], 18–19 [Skeat I.19–20], 22–5 [Skeat II.24–7], 27 [Skeat II.29], 29 [Skeat II.32], and 32–3 [Skeat II.36–7]; [Ker §18.38]: *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17];
- M [Ker §21.7, 28, 15, and 28 [again]]: *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] [full text and extract in composite homily] and 12 [Skeat I.13] [full text and extract in composite homily];²²⁴
- N [see Ker [*Catalogue*, p. 190, and] §153.18]: *LS* [11 (Skeat I.12)²²⁵ and] 12 [Skeat I.13];
- O [Ker §56.17 and 4]: *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] and 16 [Skeat I.17];
- P1 [Ker §332.33]: *LS* 17 [Skeat I.18]; [Ker §332.5, 33, 20, and 11]: *LS* 16–17 [Skeat I.17–18], *Quomodo Acitofel* [part of *LS* 18 (Skeat I.19.155–258)], and *LS* 23 [Skeat II.25];
- R1 [Ker §41A.7, 8, and 14]: *De octo uitiiis*, including part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101] and 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381]; Augmented 16 [Skeat I.17], including part of 20 [Skeat I.21.464–95]; and *De tribus ordinibus saeculi*, independent circulation of part of *LS* 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62];
- S [Ker §333.19–20]: *De octo uitiiis*, including part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101] and 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381]; and Augmented 16 [Skeat I.17], including part of 20 [Skeat I.21.464–95];
- T2 [Ker §331.47]: *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13];
- T3 [Ker §338.26]: Augmented *Letter for Wulfsgie*, including part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.68–86];
- V1a [Ker §68.12]: *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17];
- W [Ker §162.1–2 and 3–47]: *LS* Latin and Old English prefaces, and 1–32 [Skeat I.1–II.36] [*LS* I.23 and *LS* II.23B, 30, and 33 only in Skeat; not by Ælfric];

²²⁴ The last not listed in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 33–4, but by Godden, ‘Old English Composite Homilies’, p. 61; and *Second Series*, p. xlvii.

²²⁵ Items in square brackets have been destroyed by fire or otherwise lost (e.g., through a missing quire); see ‘Witnesses to *LS*’ table below.

- X^d [Ker §182.5]: *De creatore et creatura*, including part of LS 1 [Skeat I.1.20–49(?)];
- Xⁱ [Ker §282 (contents not delineated)]: *De octo uititiis* [fols 37v–45r], including part of LS 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101] and 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381];
- f^{a(2)} [Ker §63.7]: LS 25 [Skeat II.27];
- f^{c(3)} [Ker §81.1–3]: LS 21 [Skeat I.22] and 22–3 [Skeat II.24–5];
- f^{c(4)} [not in Ker]: LS 21 [Skeat I.22] and 22 [Skeat II.24];
- f^d [Ker §117.1–2]: LS 20 [Skeat I.21] and II.23B [only in Skeat; not by Ælfric];
- fⁱ⁽¹⁾ [Ker §177A.9, 3, 5, 7–8, 23, 13, 12, 21, and 10]: LS 2–4 [Skeat I.2–4], 7 [Skeat I.7], 19 [Skeat I.20], I.23 [only in Skeat; not by Ælfric], II.23B [only in Skeat; not by Ælfric], 29 [Skeat II.32] (including Old English preface, imperfect), and II.33 [only in Skeat; not by Ælfric]; [Ker §177A.6, [4,] 7, [22,] 20, [and 14–15]]: LS 5 [Skeat I.5], [6 (Skeat I.6),] 7 [Skeat I.7], [13 (Skeat I.14),] 20 [Skeat I.21], [and 28 (Skeat II.31)];
- fⁱ⁽²⁾ [Ker §177A.3]: LS 3 [Skeat I.3];
- f^k [Ker §222.43, 13, 8–9, 26, 45, 31, 37, 29, 42, and 25]: LS 3 [Skeat I.3], 5 [Skeat I.5], 14 [Skeat I.15], 21 [Skeat I.22], part of 23 [Skeat II.25.1–204], 24–5 [Skeat II.26–7], II.30 [only in Skeat; not by Ælfric], 29 [Skeat II.32] (with Old English preface now lost), and 30 [Skeat II.34]; [Ker §222.[47–51, 30, 52–4, 27–8, 46, 33–4,] 29, and [32]]: LS [7–9 (Skeat I.7–10), 13 (Skeat I.14), 18–19 (Skeat I.19–20), 22 (Skeat II.24), part of 23 (Skeat II.25.205–862), 26–7 (Skeat II.28–9),] II.30 [only in Skeat; not by Ælfric], [and 32 (Skeat II.36) (with Latin preface now lost)];
- Y11 [Ker §138.1–2]: LS 28 [Skeat II.31] and 32 [Skeat II.36] (including Latin preface); and
- Y20 [Ker §260]: LS 7–8 [Skeat I.7–8]

Table 15 Witnesses to L^S

Clayton–Mullins [Skeat]	B	C	E	F	G	K	L ²	L	M	O	N	Pi	Ri	S	T ²	T ³	Via	W	X ^a	X ⁱ	(Z) ²	(C) ²	(F) ²	(H) ²	(I) ²	Y11	Y20
LS pref																		X									
LS1 [I.1]	X ²²⁶																	X	X ^e								
LS2 [I.2]																		X									
LS3 [I.3]																		X			X ⁱ						
LS4 [I.4]																		X			X ⁱ						
LS5 [I.5]			X															X			X ⁱ						
LS6 [I.6]																		X			X ^d						
LS7 [I.7]																		X			X ^p X ^p						X ⁱ
LS8 [I.8]																		X									X ⁱ
LS8 [I.9]																		X									X ⁱ
LS9 [I.10]	X ^p X ^p							X										X									
LS10 [I.11]																		X									
LS11 [I.12]		X		X ²²⁷					X, X ^e	X	X ⁱ							X									
LS12 [I.13]		X	X	X		X ^{e228}	X ^e		X		X		X ^e	X ^e	X	X ^{e229}		X		X ^e							
LS13 [I.14]								X										X						X ^d			
LS14 [I.15]			X					X										X						X			
LS15 [I.16]	X	X			X ^e			X					X ^e	X ^e				X		X ^e							
LS16 [I.17]		X						X		X		X	X	X			X	X									
LS17 [I.18]												X ^p X ^p						X									
LS18 [I.19]	X	X					X ^e	X				X ²³⁰						X						X ^d			
LS19 [I.20]								X										X						X ^d			

²²⁶ *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9], revision of LS 1 [Skeat I.1].

²²⁷ Ker notes that an adaptation of part of LS 11 [Skeat I.12.289–92] precedes lines 1–288 and 293–4 [the end of the homily] (*Catalogue*, pp. 53 and lxiv, the latter [‘Corrigenda’] noting the misprint of ‘no. 11’ for 12).

²²⁸ Augmented *Letter for Wulfsgige*, including part of LS 12 [Skeat I.13.68–80a] [*donne hi gegremedon*].

²²⁹ Augmented *Letter for Wulfsgige*, including part of LS 12 [Skeat I.13.68–86].

²³⁰ *Quomodo Aciofel* [part of LS 18 (Skeat I.19.155–258)].

Clayton-Mullins [Skeat]	B	C	E	F	G	K	J2	L	M	O	N	P1	R1	S	T2	T3	Via	W	Xd	Xi	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13	T14	T15	T16	T17	T18	T19	T20	T21	T22	T23	T24	T25	T26	T27	T28	T29	T30	T31	T32	T33	T34	T35	T36	T37	T38	T39	T40	T41	T42	T43	T44	T45	T46	T47	T48	T49	T50	T51	T52	T53	T54	T55	T56	T57	T58	T59	T60	T61	T62	T63	T64	T65	T66	T67	T68	T69	T70	T71	T72	T73	T74	T75	T76	T77	T78	T79	T80	T81	T82	T83	T84	T85	T86	T87	T88	T89	T90	T91	T92	T93	T94	T95	T96	T97	T98	T99	T100	T101	T102	T103	T104	T105	T106	T107	T108	T109	T110	T111	T112	T113	T114	T115	T116	T117	T118	T119	T120	T121	T122	T123	T124	T125	T126	T127	T128	T129	T130	T131	T132	T133	T134	T135	T136	T137	T138	T139	T140	T141	T142	T143	T144	T145	T146	T147	T148	T149	T150	T151	T152	T153	T154	T155	T156	T157	T158	T159	T160	T161	T162	T163	T164	T165	T166	T167	T168	T169	T170	T171	T172	T173	T174	T175	T176	T177	T178	T179	T180	T181	T182	T183	T184	T185	T186	T187	T188	T189	T190	T191	T192	T193	T194	T195	T196	T197	T198	T199	T200	T201	T202	T203	T204	T205	T206	T207	T208	T209	T210	T211	T212	T213	T214	T215	T216	T217	T218	T219	T220	T221	T222	T223	T224	T225	T226	T227	T228	T229	T230	T231	T232	T233	T234	T235	T236	T237	T238	T239	T240	T241	T242	T243	T244	T245	T246	T247	T248	T249	T250	T251	T252	T253	T254	T255	T256	T257	T258	T259	T260	T261	T262	T263	T264	T265	T266	T267	T268	T269	T270	T271	T272	T273	T274	T275	T276	T277	T278	T279	T280	T281	T282	T283	T284	T285	T286	T287	T288	T289	T290	T291	T292	T293	T294	T295	T296	T297	T298	T299	T300	T301	T302	T303	T304	T305	T306	T307	T308	T309	T310	T311	T312	T313	T314	T315	T316	T317	T318	T319	T320	T321	T322	T323	T324	T325	T326	T327	T328	T329	T330	T331	T332	T333	T334	T335	T336	T337	T338	T339	T340	T341	T342	T343	T344	T345	T346	T347	T348	T349	T350	T351	T352	T353	T354	T355	T356	T357	T358	T359	T360	T361	T362	T363	T364	T365	T366	T367	T368	T369	T370	T371	T372	T373	T374	T375	T376	T377	T378	T379	T380	T381	T382	T383	T384	T385	T386	T387	T388	T389	T390	T391	T392	T393	T394	T395	T396	T397	T398	T399	T400	T401	T402	T403	T404	T405	T406	T407	T408	T409	T410	T411	T412	T413	T414	T415	T416	T417	T418	T419	T420	T421	T422	T423	T424	T425	T426	T427	T428	T429	T430	T431	T432	T433	T434	T435	T436	T437	T438	T439	T440	T441	T442	T443	T444	T445	T446	T447	T448	T449	T450	T451	T452	T453	T454	T455	T456	T457	T458	T459	T460	T461	T462	T463	T464	T465	T466	T467	T468	T469	T470	T471	T472	T473	T474	T475	T476	T477	T478	T479	T480	T481	T482	T483	T484	T485	T486	T487	T488	T489	T490	T491	T492	T493	T494	T495	T496	T497	T498	T499	T500	T501	T502	T503	T504	T505	T506	T507	T508	T509	T510	T511	T512	T513	T514	T515	T516	T517	T518	T519	T520	T521	T522	T523	T524	T525	T526	T527	T528	T529	T530	T531	T532	T533	T534	T535	T536	T537	T538	T539	T540	T541	T542	T543	T544	T545	T546	T547	T548	T549	T550	T551	T552	T553	T554	T555	T556	T557	T558	T559	T560	T561	T562	T563	T564	T565	T566	T567	T568	T569	T570	T571	T572	T573	T574	T575	T576	T577	T578	T579	T580	T581	T582	T583	T584	T585	T586	T587	T588	T589	T590	T591	T592	T593	T594	T595	T596	T597	T598	T599	T600	T601	T602	T603	T604	T605	T606	T607	T608	T609	T610	T611	T612	T613	T614	T615	T616	T617	T618	T619	T620	T621	T622	T623	T624	T625	T626	T627	T628	T629	T630	T631	T632	T633	T634	T635	T636	T637	T638	T639	T640	T641	T642	T643	T644	T645	T646	T647	T648	T649	T650	T651	T652	T653	T654	T655	T656	T657	T658	T659	T660	T661	T662	T663	T664	T665	T666	T667	T668	T669	T670	T671	T672	T673	T674	T675	T676	T677	T678	T679	T680	T681	T682	T683	T684	T685	T686	T687	T688	T689	T690	T691	T692	T693	T694	T695	T696	T697	T698	T699	T700	T701	T702	T703	T704	T705	T706	T707	T708	T709	T710	T711	T712	T713	T714	T715	T716	T717	T718	T719	T720	T721	T722	T723	T724	T725	T726	T727	T728	T729	T730	T731	T732	T733	T734	T735	T736	T737	T738	T739	T740	T741	T742	T743	T744	T745	T746	T747	T748	T749	T750	T751	T752	T753	T754	T755	T756	T757	T758	T759	T760	T761	T762	T763	T764	T765	T766	T767	T768	T769	T770	T771	T772	T773	T774	T775	T776	T777	T778	T779	T780	T781	T782	T783	T784	T785	T786	T787	T788	T789	T790	T791	T792	T793	T794	T795	T796	T797	T798	T799	T800	T801	T802	T803	T804	T805	T806	T807	T808	T809	T810	T811	T812	T813	T814	T815	T816	T817	T818	T819	T820	T821	T822	T823	T824	T825	T826	T827	T828	T829	T830	T831	T832	T833	T834	T835	T836	T837	T838	T839	T840	T841	T842	T843	T844	T845	T846	T847	T848	T849	T850	T851	T852	T853	T854	T855	T856	T857	T858	T859	T860	T861	T862	T863	T864	T865	T866	T867	T868	T869	T870	T871	T872	T873	T874	T875	T876	T877	T878	T879	T880	T881	T882	T883	T884	T885	T886	T887	T888	T889	T890	T891	T892	T893	T894	T895	T896	T897	T898	T899	T900	T901	T902	T903	T904	T905	T906	T907	T908	T909	T910	T911	T912	T913	T914	T915	T916	T917	T918	T919	T920	T921	T922	T923	T924	T925	T926	T927	T928	T929	T930	T931	T932	T933	T934	T935	T936	T937	T938	T939	T940	T941	T942	T943	T944	T945	T946	T947	T948	T949	T950	T951	T952	T953	T954	T955	T956	T957	T958	T959	T960	T961	T962	T963	T964	T965	T966	T967	T968	T969	T970	T971	T972	T973	T974	T975	T976	T977	T978	T979	T980	T981	T982	T983	T984	T985	T986	T987	T988	T989	T990	T991	T992	T993	T994	T995	T996	T997	T998	T999	T1000	T1001	T1002	T1003	T1004	T1005	T1006	T1007	T1008	T1009	T1010	T1011	T1012	T1013	T1014	T1015	T1016	T1017	T1018	T1019	T1020	T1021	T1022	T1023	T1024	T1025	T1026	T1027	T1028	T1029	T1030	T1031	T1032	T1033	T1034	T1035	T1036	T1037	T1038	T1039	T1040	T1041	T1042	T1043	T1044	T1045	T1046	T1047	T1048	T1049	T1050	T1051	T1052	T1053	T1054	T1055	T1056	T1057	T1058	T1059	T1060	T1061	T1062	T1063	T1064	T1065	T1066	T1067	T1068	T1069	T1070	T1071	T1072	T1073	T1074	T1075	T1076	T1077	T1078	T1079	T1080	T1081	T1082	T1083	T1084	T1085	T1086	T1087	T1088	T1089	T1090	T1091	T1092	T1093	T1094	T1095	T1096	T1097	T1098	T1099	T1100	T1101	T1102	T1103	T1104	T1105	T1106	T1107	T1108	T1109	T1110	T1111	T1112	T1113	T1114	T1115	T1116	T1117	T1118	T1119	T1120	T1121	T1122	T1123	T1124	T1125	T1126	T1127	T1128	T1129	T1130	T1131	T1132	T1133	T1134	T1135	T1136	T1137	T1138	T1139	T1140	T1141	T1142	T1143	T1144	T1145	T1146	T1147	T1148	T1149	T1150	T1151	T1152	T1153	T1154	T1155	T1156	T1157	T1158	T1159	T1160	T1161	T1162	T1163	T1164	T1165	T1166	T1167	T1168	T1169	T1170	T1171	T1172	T1173	T1174	T1175	T1176	T1177	T1178	T1179	T1180	T1181	T1182	T1183	T1184	T1185	T1186	T1187	T1188	T1189	T1190	T1191	T1192	T1193	T1194	T1195	T1196	T1197	T1198	T1199	T1200	T1201	T1202	T1203	T1204	T1205	T1206	T1207	T1208	T1209	T1210	T1211	T1212	T1213	T1214	T1215	T1216	T1217	T1218	T1219	T1220	T1221	T1222	T1223	T1224	T1225	T1226	T1227	T1228	T1229	T1230	T1231	T1232	T1233	T1234	T1235	T1236	T1237	T1238	T1239	T1240	T1241	T1242	T1243	T1244	T1245	T1246	T1247	T1248	T1249	T1250	T1251	T1252	T1253	T1254	T1255	T1256	T1257	T1258	T1259	T1260	T1261	T1262	T1263	T1264	T1265	T1266	T1267	T1268	T1269	T1270	T1271	T1272	T1273	T1274	T1275	T1276	T1277	T1278	T1279	T1280	T1281	T1282	T1283	T1284	T1285	T1286	T1287	T1288	T1289	T1290	T1291	T1292	T1293	T1294	T1295	T1296	T1297	T1298	T1299	T1300	T1301	T1302	T1303	T1304	T1305	T1306	T1307	T1308	T1309	T1310	T1311	T1312	T1313	T1314	T1315	T1316	T1317	T1318	T1319	T1320	T1321	T1322	T1323	T1324	T1325	T1326	T1327	T1328	T1329	T1330	T1331	T1332	T1333	T1334	T1335	T1336	T1337	T1338	T1339	T1340	T1341	T1342	T1343	T1344	T1345	T1346	T1347	T1348	T1349	T1350	T1351	T1352	T1353	T1354	T1355	T1356	T1357	T1358	T1359	T1360	T1361	T1362	T1363	T1364	T1365	T1366	T1367	T1368	T1369	T1370	T1371	T1372	T1373	T1374	T1375	T1376	T1377	T1378	T1379	T1380	T1381	T1382	T1383	T1384	T1385	T1386	T1387	T1388	T1389	T1390	T1391	T1392	T1393	T1394	T1395	T1396	T1397	T1398	T1399	T1400	T1401	T1402	T1403	T1404	T1405	T1406	T1407	T1408	T1409	T1410	T1411	T1412	T1413	T1414	T1415	T1416	T1417	T1418	T1419	T1420	T1421	T1422	T1423	T1424	T1425	T1426	T1427	T1428	T1429	T1430	T1431	T1432	T1433	T1434	T1435	T1436	T1437	T1438	T1439	T1440	T1441	T1442	T1443	T1444	T1445	T1446	T1447	T1448	T1449	T1450	T1451	T1452	T1453	T1454	T1455	T1456	T1457	T1458	T1459	T1460	T1461	T1462	T1463	T1464	T1465	T1466	T1467	T1468	T1469	T1470	T1471	T1472	T1473	T1474	T1475	T1476	T1477	T1478	T1479	T1480	T1481	T1482	T1483	T1484	T1485	T
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d = destroyed by fire; e = extract(s) [e.g., in composite homily]; i = imperfect; l = lost [e.g., missing quire]; p = partially collated by Skeat; [LS] = Life not by Ælfric; □ = not edited or collated by Skeat

²³¹ *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* (independent circulation of LS 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62]).

Edition: Skeat; Latin and Old English prefaces, and prefaces to the Lives of Edmund and Thomas also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 119–22. Forthcoming edition by Mary Clayton and Juliet Mullins, numerated as follows:

Table 16 Lives of Saints in Skeat and Clayton–Mullins

<i>Skeat</i>	<i>Clayton–Mullins</i>	<i>Skeat</i>	<i>Clayton–Mullins</i>	<i>Skeat</i>	<i>Clayton–Mullins</i>
<i>LS pref</i>	<i>LS pref</i>	<i>LS I.13</i>	<i>LS 12</i>	<i>LS II.25</i>	<i>LS 23</i>
<i>LS I.1</i>	<i>LS 1</i>	<i>LS I.14</i>	<i>LS 13</i>	<i>LS II.26</i>	<i>LS 24</i>
<i>LS I.2</i>	<i>LS 2</i>	<i>LS I.15</i>	<i>LS 14</i>	<i>LS II.27</i>	<i>LS 25</i>
<i>LS I.3</i>	<i>LS 3</i>	<i>LS I.16</i>	<i>LS 15</i>	<i>LS II.28</i>	<i>LS 26</i>
<i>LS I.4</i>	<i>LS 4</i>	<i>LS I.17</i>	<i>LS 16</i>	<i>LS II.29</i>	<i>LS 27</i>
<i>LS I.5</i>	<i>LS 5</i>	<i>LS I.18</i>	<i>LS 17</i>	[<i>LS II.30</i>]	
<i>LS I.6</i>	<i>LS 6</i>	<i>LS I.19</i>	<i>LS 18</i>	<i>LS II.31</i>	<i>LS 28</i>
<i>LS I.7</i>	<i>LS 7</i>	<i>LS I.20</i>	<i>LS 19</i>	<i>LS II.32</i>	<i>LS 29</i>
<i>LS I.8</i>	<i>LS 8</i>	<i>LS I.21</i>	<i>LS 20</i>	[<i>LS II.33</i>]	
<i>LS I.9</i>	<i>LS 8</i>	<i>LS I.22</i>	<i>LS 21</i>	<i>LS II.34</i>	<i>LS 30</i>
<i>LS I.10</i>	<i>LS 9</i>	[<i>LS I.23</i>]		<i>LS II.35</i>	<i>LS 31</i>
<i>LS I.11</i>	<i>LS 10</i>	[<i>LS II.23B</i>]		<i>LS II.36</i>	<i>LS 32</i>
<i>LS I.12</i>	<i>LS 11</i>	<i>LS II.24</i>	<i>LS 22</i>	<i>LS II.37</i>	<i>LS 33</i>

Facsimiles and Digital Images: MSS W and Y20 printed by Doane, *Saints' Lives*; f^d printed by Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*. Complete sets of manuscript images are available as follows:

C, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>;
E, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315>;
F, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699>;
L, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>;
O, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>;
R1, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>;
V1a, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sb541hg4710>;
W, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII;

aspX?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII;
X^d, https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Otho_C_I/2; and
f^{a(2)}, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/hp566jq8781>.

Translation: The Latin prefaces to the Lives and to the Life of Thomas specifically (LS 32 [Skeat II.36]) are translated by Wilcox, *Preface*, pp. 131–2; LS 29 [Skeat II.32] and 8 [Skeat I.8] are translated by Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, pp. 158–64 and 164–8; and LS 4 [Skeat I.4], 30 [Skeat II.34], and 31 [Skeat II.35] are translated by Upchurch, *Ælfric's Lives*, pp. 55–99. The work as a whole, including the Old English preface to the Life of Edmund (LS 29 [Skeat II.32]), is translated by Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, pp. 3–541, and vol. II, pp. 55–443.

Notes: Skeat's nineteenth-century work remains the standard edition of the Lives despite its incomplete treatment of its base manuscript W and omission of material from twenty other manuscripts, listed in full above.²³² Of the various voices that have called for a new edition, Schipper's examination of Skeat's work may be the most inculpatory. He shows that Skeat's notes are sporadic and presented in an inconsistent manner; that Skeat omits the evidence of numerous manuscripts while claiming to have collated all witnesses; that Skeat fails to account for scribal corrections of various kinds present in W itself; and that Skeat's approach to these corrections is alarmingly inconsistent. Many grammatical or lexical corrections Skeat incorporates silently. Over thirty scribal additions of one or more words Skeat silently accepts, 'corrects', misreads, or ignores. At other points, Skeat is 'very free with silent emendations' or 'simply ignores the manuscript reading' altogether.²³³ *Caueat lector*. The forthcoming edition by Clayton and Mullins will, therefore, be decidedly welcome.

Subsequent editions of individual Lives include Algeo, 'Forty Soldiers' [LS 10 (Skeat I.11)]; Corona, *Saint Basil* [LS 3 (Skeat I.3)]; Donovan, 'Eugenia' [LS 2 (Skeat I.2)]; Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 590–609 (Swithun [LS 20 (Skeat I.21)]); Lee, 'Maccabees' [LS 23 (Skeat II.25)]; Leinbaugh, 'Liturgical Homilies' (Christmas, Shrove Tuesday,²³⁴ *De oratione Moysi*, and *De memoria Sanctorum* [LS 1 (Skeat I.1), 11 (Skeat I.12), 12 (Skeat I.13), and 15 (Skeat I.16)]); Moloney, 'Virgin-Martyr Stories' (Eugenia, Agnes, Agatha, and Lucy and Cecilia [LS 2 (Skeat I.2), 7 (Skeat I.7), 8 (Skeat I.8–9), and 30 (Skeat II.34)]); Needham, *Three English Saints* (Swithun, Oswald and Edmund [LS 20 (Skeat I.21), LS 24 (Skeat II.26), and

²³² For a survey of manuscripts containing portions of the *Lives*, see also Hill, 'Dissemination', pp. 246–7 [Table 2].

²³³ 'Skeat's Edition', pp. 229–36, at p. 232; see also Clemoes re: f: 'Skeat's printed readings are unreliable for the fragments from which they come because he did not record all their legible variants and failed to distinguish between those readings in which the fragments support his main text and those in which they are defective' (*First Series*, p. 61 n. 1; see also p. 62 n. 3).

²³⁴ While Skeat's edition associates LS 11 [Skeat I.12] with Ash Wednesday (*Lives*, vol. I, pp. 9 and 261), Mary Clayton helpfully notes that the sermon is in fact for Shrove Tuesday and will appear as such in her edition (personal correspondence, 24 March 2017 and 29 August 2018).

LS 29 (Skeat II.32)); Schipper, 'De auguriis' [LS 16 (Skeat I.17)]; and Upchurch, *Ælfric's Lives* (Julian and Basilissa, Cecilia and Valerian, and Chrysanthus and Daria [LS 4 (Skeat I.4), 30 (Skeat II.34), and 31 (Skeat II.35)]).

Note that four of the texts included by Skeat, the *Legend of the Seven Sleepers* and *Lives of Mary of Egypt*, *Eustace*, and *Euphrosyne* (LS I.23, II.23B, II.30, and II.33), were not composed by Ælfric.²³⁵ For an analysis of stylistic and linguistic differences between these texts and Ælfrician *Lives*, see Magennis ('Contrasting Features'); for a subject-index to the *Lives*, see Nelson ('Ælfric'). On the Latin note and prayer to St Martin that follows LS 28 [Skeat II.31] in W, see 8.5 below.

3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt*²³⁶

- Overview: Ælfric speaks first against thieves, urging them to repent like the thief on the cross (Luke 23.42–3); then against traitors, recounting how Achitophel (2 Samuel 17.23), Absalom (by his hair in a tree; 2 Samuel 18.9–15), and Judas (Matthew 27.5) all hung themselves; and finally against unrighteous judges who pervert justice and take bribes.
- Date: Later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998
- MSS: C [Ker §57.70], pp. 340–1;
J2 [Ker §283.6], fols 43v/23 – 44r/5 (LS 18 [Skeat I.19.248–54], for collation);
L [Ker §18.28], fols 149v–151r;
P1 [Ker §332.20], fols 66r–67v;
W [Ker §162.25], fols 93r–94v; and
[f^k [Ker §222.53], fol. '228v' [now lost to fire]]
- Edition: None independently; passage appears as part of Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, pp. 424–30.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS C, L, and W are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>, and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII.
- Notes: *Quomodo Acitofel*, comprising part of LS 18 [Skeat I.19.155–258], appears (or appeared) as a pendant to LS 18 in three manuscripts (L, W, and [f^k]), as part of a composite text in another (J2),²³⁷ and as

²³⁵ Clemons, 'Chronology', p. 37; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 143 n. 6.

²³⁶ Title taken from MS C.

²³⁷ The full text is not present in J2, but part of LS 18 [Skeat I.19.248–54], lines which overlap with *Quomodo Acitofel*, warrant collation.

an independent piece in two more (C and P1). Clayton states that 'it is hard to know whether the Absalom and Achitophel passage was excerpted from the complete text or whether Ælfric circulated it both independently and as an appendage to [LS 18]'.²³⁸ On the possible relationship of *Quomodo Acitofel* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.14.3 above.

3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi*²³⁹

- Overview: As in his *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* [4.1.2], *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2], and *Witan sceoldon smeagan* [4.4.5 below], Ælfric here discusses the three orders of *laboratores*, *bellatores*, and *oratores* (those who work, war, and pray), using the example of Apollonius and Julian to warn those who would compel monks to become soldiers, turning from spiritual to temporal war.
- Date: Later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998²⁴⁰
- MSS: C [Ker §57.72], pp. 355–6 [independent piece];
E [Ker §48.52], fols 328r–341v [part of LS 23 (Skeat II.25)];
L [Ker §18.36], fols 193v–194v [pendant to acephalous/damaged LS 23 (Skeat II.25.319–811)];
P1 [Ker §332.11], fols 58r–59r [independent piece];
R1 [Ker §41A.14], pp. 138–9 [independent piece]; and
W [Ker §162.36], fols 152r–153r [pendant to LS 23 (Skeat II.25.1–811)]
- Edition: None independently; text edited by Skeat, *Lives*, pp. 120–4.
- Digital Images: Complete sets are available as follows: C, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824>; E, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315>; L, <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>; R1, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>; and W, http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII.
- Translation: Skeat, *Lives*, pp. 121–5.
- Notes: *De tribus ordinibus*, comprising LS 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62], appears as an independent piece in MSS C, P, and R. Clayton, in keeping with her view of Ælfric's responsibility for the R-type collection, suggests

²³⁸ *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 30; see also Hill, 'Dissemination', pp. 239 and 246. Pope suggested that the passage may have been excerpted or adapted from a now-lost letter (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 144), but *Quomodo Acitofel*'s textual history may better be understood in relation to LS 18 [Skeat I.19] than to a third work, not extant.

²³⁹ Title taken from MS R; titled *Qui sint Oratores. Laboratores. Bellatores.* in C, *Item alia* in W, and left untitled in E, L, and P.

²⁴⁰ Original composition of the *Lives* later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998; *De tribus ordinibus* circulated independently beginning perhaps later in the same period.

that texts like *De tribus ordinibus* in R are ‘probably by Ælfric’:²⁴¹ see 2.1.3 above. Not collated by Skeat: P. On the possible relationship of *De tribus ordinibus* to Ælfric’s Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

3.2.4. *De uaniloquio neglegentium**

- Overview: Ælfric here condemns as heretical the belief that Mary and other saints might wrest sinners from the devil even after the Judgement; no one, he affirms, can intercede for those to whom Christ says, ‘Depart from me ... into the eternal fire’ (Matthew 25.41).
- Date: ca 1009 – ca 1010
- MS: R1 [Ker §41A.16], pp. 140–1
- Edition: None independently; passage edited by Godden, *Second Series*, p. 333.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS R1 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Translation: Passage translated by Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 573.
- Notes: CH II.39.184–98 with a small addition at the end²⁴² appears in R as an independent text. Clemoes does not view the addition as being by Ælfric;²⁴³ Clayton, however, in keeping with her view of Ælfric’s responsibility for the R-type collection, suggests that texts like *De uaniloquio* in R are ‘probably by Ælfric’:²⁴⁴ see 2.1.3 above. On the possible relationship of *De uaniloquio* to Ælfric’s Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

3.2.5. *Vita S. Æthelwoldi (in Latin)*²⁴⁵

- Overview: Ælfric addresses his Life of Æthelwold to Bishop Cenwulf and the monks of Winchester, where Ælfric himself studied during Æthelwold’s episcopacy. He recounts Æthelwold’s early experience at the court of Æthelstan, training under Dunstan, abbacy at Abingdon, expulsion of the secular clergy from Winchester’s Old and New Minsters, establishment of Nunnaminster, influence on Edgar, and various miracles performed both before and after death.
- Date: Perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or ca 1004 x late 1006

²⁴¹ *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 11.

²⁴² ‘Tunc iusti fulgebunt ... on heora fæder rice’ (Godden, *Second Series*, p. 333, apparatus).

²⁴³ *First Series*, pp. 38–9.

²⁴⁴ *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 11.

²⁴⁵ The text is classed with ‘Epitomes and Abridgements’ [6. below] by Jones (‘Medieval Latin Author’, p. 10).

- MS: Y25 [not in Ker], fols 74r–81r
- Edition: Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, pp. 70–80; Latin preface also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 123.
- Translation: Latin preface translated by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 132; entire text translated by Whitelock, *Documents*, pp. 903–11.
- Notes: Besides Y4 [on which, see 1.6.1.1.2 above], the other manuscript pointed to most often as a possible witness to one of Ælfric's Commonplace Books – collections of excerpts on subjects of interest to Ælfric, on which he often drew as source material for later work – is Y25.²⁴⁶ When in 1998 Jones spoke (in the quotation that introduces our discussion of 'The Ælfrician Canon' above) of 'other Latin compositions attributed to Ælfric ... [that] have only recently joined the list',²⁴⁷ he was referring to the epitomes of hagiographical works found in Y25 which had been discussed seven years earlier by Lapidge and Winterbottom.²⁴⁸ In his monumental 2003 *Cult of St Swithun*, Lapidge further set forth his analysis of the nine items on fols 1r–84v that he argued had been copied from a single exemplar. The items are as follows:

1. *Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid** [Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.17–18 (19–20)] [6.1];
2. *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni* [6.8];
3. *Erat in eodem monasterio** [Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.29–30 (31–2⁴⁹)] [6.6];
4. *Hoc est Dei et sancti Cuthberti miraculum** [Anonymous, *Historia de S. Cuthberto* 33] [6.12];
5. *In illo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum** [excerpt from Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.7] [6.13];
6. *Passio S. Eadmundi* [Abbo of Fleury];
7. *Regnauit igitur Osuald Christianissimus** [Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.9–10] [6.20];
8. *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*; and
9. *Vita S. Cuthberti* (prose) [Bede]

Lapidge's conclusion that Y25 is 'arguably a later copy of a hagiographical commonplace-book compiled by Ælfric himself',²⁵⁰ while finding general acceptance,²⁵¹ has not gone without challenge.

²⁴⁶ For such references, see for example Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 39; and Gretsch, *Cult of Saints*, p. 59.

²⁴⁷ 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 3 and n. 12; see also p. 18.

²⁴⁸ *Wulfstan of Winchester*, pp. cxlviii–cxlix.

²⁴⁹ For the different manuscript chapter divisions of Book IV of the *Historia*, see Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 380 n. c.

²⁵⁰ *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlviii.

²⁵¹ Again, see for example Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 39; Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 3 and n. 12, and 18; and Gretsch, *Cult of Saints*, p. 59.

Indeed, the current scholarly state of opinion on the matter may be that expressed by Hill: while speaking of Y25 as deriving from an exemplar 'that could well be a hagiographical collection made by or for Ælfric', she notes that here, as with Y4, 'it is essential to reiterate that there are problems in straightforwardly attributing these two *compilationes* to Ælfric': 'further detailed investigation is needed to refine our understanding'.²⁵² For a more detailed discussion of Y25 in relationship to PRS, Y4, and X^a, see Kleist, 'Commonplace Book'.

²⁵² *Life and Works*, pp. 39, 40, and 39 n. 19.

4. Letters²⁵³

4.1. Letters to Bishops

4.1.1. [B.1.8.1] Letter for Wulfsgie

- Overview: Written on behalf of and (as it were) in the voice of Wulfsgie III, bishop of Sherborne²⁵⁴ from ca 993 (after 4 June) to 8 January 1002, this letter addresses clergymen in Wulfsgie's diocese regarding clerical celibacy, the seven clerical orders, the books necessary for priests, various priestly responsibilities, and matters of liturgy.²⁵⁵
- Date: Original version: ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 995;
Augmented version [including §§105–10 / part of LS 12 (Skeat I.13.68–86)]; later in the period ca 993 [after 4 June] – (ca 998 x 1002)
- MSS: K [Ker §15.97], fols 264r–266v (includes Latin preface and augmentation);
T3 [Ker 338.26], fols 101v–110r (includes Latin preface and augmentation); and
X^a [Ker §45B.17], pp. 295–308 (uniquely includes §§150–61)
- Edition: Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 196–226; formerly printed as Fehr I (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 1–34, with corrections on 267–8).²⁵⁶ Latin preface also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 123.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.
- Translation: Ælfric's Latin preface is translated by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 133; and the rest of the letter by Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 196–226.

²⁵³ Jones aptly observes that Ælfric's works often problematize efforts to categorize them by genre: 'Ælfric's methods of compiling and composing tended to produce works of a relatively homogenous type, and ... decisions to call some of them "letters," others "epitomes," and still others "excerpts" (with or without "adaptations") reflect in the main the presuppositions of modern scholarship' ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 4). (Clemons himself suggests that 'we may also have the substance of, or extracts from, letters' in SH II.19 and 22 [1.3] and *Quomodo Acitofel* [3.2.2], as well as *De penitentia* and *Læwedum mannum* [included in this section as 4.4.2 and 4.4.4; 'Chronology', p. 36]). One might compare, therefore, items in this category with those for example under 'Epitomes and Abridgements' [6.] below. For a subject-index to the Pastoral Letters [4.1.1 and 4.1.3–6 below], see Nelson.

²⁵⁴ Ælfric's abbey at Cerne would have been located in the Sherborne diocese.

²⁵⁵ Keynes offers this useful summary: 'The letter ... contains useful guidance for secular clergy, presumably directed at the parish priests throughout the diocese of Sherborne, yet also applicable to the canons in Bishop Wulfsgie's episcopal household. It represents a fine expression of the monastic point of view, displaying a deep disapproval of the lax standards which prevailed among the secular clergy (eg chs 1, 14–15), who ignored their own Rule (ch 102), and a strong conviction in the superiority of the monastic orders (chs 46–7, 101); priests are urged to pray for the king (ch 51) and are told what things they needed (chs 52–60), what their duties might be (chs 61–2) and what they should not do or be (chs 73–82)' ('Wulfsgie', p. 66).

²⁵⁶ Despite these corrections, Clemons notes that 'Fehr has let pass a great many minor errors in all parts of the book' ('Supplement', p. cxlviii). As Whitelock ignores minor variants, however (*Councils*, p. 192), some scholars may still find it useful to consult Fehr's apparatus.

Notes: Whitelock suggests that part of the conclusion beginning ‘We bisceopas geræddon, þa we ætgædere wæron’ (‘We bishops decided, when we were together’ [*Letter for Wulfsgie* §§150–8]) is not by Ælfric, but may have been inserted later at Wulfsgie’s request.²⁵⁷

Technically, three versions of the letter exist. MS K preserves Ælfric’s Latin preface to the letter and sections §§1–108, ending imperfectly with the termination of the manuscript; as §§105–10 form a unit, Clemoes affirms that K would have gone through §110 at least. X^a includes §§1–72, 74–104, and 111–61. T3 includes the Latin preface and §§1–149, the last with a concluding phrase not present in X^a. As §§150–61 can be shown never to have been present in T3, Clemoes calls their presence in X^a an ‘unauthorized interpolation’ – of material not by Ælfric, one assumes.²⁵⁸ He does attribute §§73 and 105–10 to Ælfric, however, though they are not present in X^a. §73, he suggests, may have been omitted either by accident or to avoid offense to X^a’s audience; §§105–10, by contrast – a passage corresponding to part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.68–86] – may have been added by Ælfric later to create an augmented version of the *Letter*. Clemoes argues that Ælfric wrote the original *Letter* before *LS* 12, which predated the full set of *Lives of Saints*; the augmented version would thus have followed the completion and dissemination of the set – but not much later, as the completion may be dated later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) × *ca* 998 and the production of Archetype 4 (K) of Phase γ K-type copies of *CHI* falls later in the period *ca* 993 [after 4 June] – (*ca* 998 × 1002).²⁵⁹ Both Fehr and Whitelock print the body of the letter from MS X^a, with the Latin preface from K and the relevant part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.68–86] / *Letter* §§105–10 from T3.²⁶⁰

4.1.2. Latin Letter to Wulfstan

Overview: As the salutation of the letter indicates, Ælfric writes this private letter to Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York from 1002, in response to certain questions on which Wulfstan had asked his opinion. Ælfric discusses such issues as the criteria for exclusion from clerical orders, the method of baptism, the appropriate number of daily masses, and the place of clergy in three orders of society (*laboratores, bellatores, oratores*).

²⁵⁷ *Councils*, pp. 194–5.

²⁵⁸ ‘Supplement’, p. cxxxiv.

²⁵⁹ ‘Supplement’, pp. cxxxiv, cxxxi, and cxliv–cxlv. As noted, §§105–10 appears also in T3, but the manuscript is less helpful in dating the augmented *Letter*, inasmuch as it does not appear in portions of T3 dated by Clemoes or Godden in their analysis of *Catholic Homilies* dissemination; see *First Series*, p. 45, and *Second Series*, p. li, respectively.

²⁶⁰ This distinction between manuscripts is obscured in the Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus, which reproduces the interpolation not as part of ‘Wulfsgie T’, a list of variations from T3, but as part of ‘Wulfsgie Xa’, Fehr’s main text.

- Date: Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005
- MSS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 10r–13r
- Edition: Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 247–55; formerly printed as Fehr 2a (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 222–7). Digital edition by Elliot and Major ('First Latin Letter').²⁶¹
- Notes: The letter's presence in Y4, a manuscript closely associated with Ælfric, suggests that 'we have the letter in the form in which he wrote it'; in this, it differs from the letters written on Wulfstan's behalf [4.1.3–6 below], which 'have been exposed to influence from Wulfstan or members of his circle'.²⁶² Whitelock's edition replaces that of Fehr, who discovered the letter late in his work.²⁶³ For the possible influence of *De septem gradibus* on a portion of the *Letter*, see 6.21 below. On the *Letter*'s relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

4.1.3. First Latin Letter for Wulfstan

- Overview: Having learned of Ælfric's letter for Wulfsige [4.1.1 above] perhaps as early as 996, when he was bishop of London and Wulfsige still abbot of Westminster (see Whitelock, *Councils* 193), Wulfstan too commissions Ælfric to write Pastoral Letters on his behalf. In this letter, writing in Wulfstan's voice to clergymen, Ælfric addresses such subjects as the three eras of the world (before the Law, under Law, and under grace), the importance of clerical chastity, the four early synods of the Church, the seven canonical hours, the seven clerical orders, and so forth.
- Date: ca 1005
- MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 188–201;
Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 160–73;
Y9 (4^o) [Ker §99], fols 67r–74r; and
Y22 [not in Ker], fols 41v–42v
- Edition: Fehr 2 (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 35–57, with corrections on 269). Digital edition by Elliot and Major ('Second Latin Letter').²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Elliot and Major title Ælfric's correspondence as his First, Second, and Third Latin Letters to Wulfstan rather than his Latin Letter *to* Wulfstan and two Letters *for* Wulfstan.

²⁶² Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, p. 243; cf. 1.6.1.1.2 above.

²⁶³ See Reinsma, *Annotated Bibliography*, p. 242.

²⁶⁴ Elliot and Major title Ælfric's correspondence as his First, Second, and Third Latin Letters to Wulfstan rather than his Latin Letter *to* Wulfstan and two Letters *for* Wulfstan.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS X^a and Y6 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nh277tk2537>.

Notes: Complete copies of the *Letter* appear in X^a, Y6, and Y9, while a partial excerpt survives in Y22. Ælfric later translates this material into the vernacular in his *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [4.1.5 below]. For the possible influence of *De septem gradibus* on a portion of the *Letter*, see 6.21 below.

4.1.4. *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan*

Overview: This companion piece to Ælfric's *First Latin Letter* [4.1.3 above], again written in Wulfstan's voice, focuses specifically on priestly responsibilities: the application of holy oil, the administration of communion to the sick, the importance of serving communion rightly, and so on.

Date: ca 1005

MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 151–9;
Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 174–80;
Y9 [Ker §99], fols 74r–77v; and
Y22 [not in Ker], fols 44r–45v

Edition: Fehr 3 (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 58–67, with a correction on 269). Digital edition by Elliot and Major ('Third Latin Letter').²⁶⁵

Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.

Notes: Complete copies of the *Letter* appear in X^a, Y6, and Y9, while an abbreviated copy survives in Y22. The existing conclusion (§§73–90), however, drawn from passages in Ælfric's *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* [4.1.2 above], may be a later addition by Wulfstan or his circle.²⁶⁶

4.1.5. [B.1.8.2] *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan*

Overview: A year after composing his Latin letters for Wulfstan [4.1.3–4 above], Ælfric fulfils Wulfstan's request to translate them into the vernacular. He acknowledges, however, that he has rearranged material and translated not word for word but *sensum ex sensu* ('according to the sense' [§1]).

Date: ca 1006

²⁶⁵ Elliot and Major title Ælfric's correspondence as his First, Second, and Third Latin Letters to Wulfstan rather than his Latin Letter to Wulfstan and two Letters for Wulfstan.

²⁶⁶ Clemoes, 'Supplement', pp. cxxxv–cxxxvii; and Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, p. 243.

- MSS: B [Ker §310.67], fols 133r–137r (including Latin preface to both *Old English Letters for Wulfstan*);
 G [Ker §209.25], fol. 75rv [§§30–4, appearing independently];
 X^a [Ker §45B.1–2], pp. 320–36 (including Latin preface to both *Old English Letters for Wulfstan*); and
 Y5 [Ker §49B.17], pp. 31–40²⁶⁷
- Edition: Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 260–302; previously printed as Fehr II (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 68–145, with corrections on 269).²⁶⁸ The Latin preface is also edited by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 125–6. Forthcoming edition by Elliot and Major.²⁶⁹
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS X^a and Y5 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cr485km1781>.
- Translation: The text in X^a is translated by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 134 [translating §1] and Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 260–302 [translating §§2–212], while the version in Y5, modified substantially by Wulfstan,²⁷⁰ is translated by Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, vol. II, pp. 365–89 [translating §§2–15, 17–19, 21–57, 59–63a, 69–85, 99–107, 111–16, 119–42, 144–6, 152–64a, 171–91, and 194–200c].
- Notes: The Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus reproduces the text from X^a, but omits the versions in B, G, and Y5, printed in parallel columns by Fehr. For the possible influence of *De septem gradibus* on a portion of the *Letter*, see 6.21 below.

4.1.6. [B.1.8.3] *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan*

- Overview: Ælfric's translation of his *Second Latin Letter* [4.1.4 above; see also 4.1.5].
- Date: *ca* 1006²⁷¹
- MSS: B [Ker §310.68], fols 137r–140v (including Latin preface to both *Old English Letters for Wulfstan*);

²⁶⁷ Ker notes that the version in Y5 has 'additions, verbal differences, and omissions as compared with the other copies' (*Catalogue*, p. 84, citing Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. lxxv–lxxxii).

²⁶⁸ See note 22 above.

²⁶⁹ See Ælfric: The Letters.

²⁷⁰ See Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, p. 258; Elliot and Major likewise describe it as a redaction by Wulfstan (*Letters*, 'Diplomatic Transcription of WOE2 (E)').

²⁷¹ That is, the year after Ælfric's arrival at Eynsham later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 (Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 68; and Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 84–5, and 'Chronology', pp. 55–6), and thus probably (though not necessarily) before Ælfheah's move to Canterbury and Cenwulf's succession at Winchester.

G [Ker §209.5], fol. 13v–15v [§§120–45²⁷²];
T3 [Ker §338.27], fols 111r–124r;
X^a [Ker §45B.3], pp. 336–49 (including Latin preface to both *Old English Letters for Wulfstan*); and
X^e [Ker §186.29], fols 106r–107v [§§1–62, ending imperfectly]

Edition: Fehr III (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 146–221, with a correction on 269). Forthcoming edition by Elliot and Major.

Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.

Translation: Extracts from X^a are translated by Thorpe, *Ancient Laws* II.391–3 [translating §§1–22]; and Parker, *Testimonie*, fols 65r–72r [translating §§86–109].

Notes: As in his *First Old English Letter* [4.1.5], Ælfric rearranges but largely reproduces the contents of his Latin letter. There are two exceptions: first, there is a section not found in the Latin letter regarding the rites for Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter eve (§§23–63); Whitelock suggests that the Latin letter may have assumed that its recipients could consult a sacramentary.²⁷³ Second, there is the conclusion (§§120–98), which discusses the Ten Commandments and eight Deadly Sins rather than the priestly responsibilities treated in the Latin. As the conclusion of the extant Latin letter may not be by Ælfric, however (see 4.1.4 above), this discussion of the Commandments may reflect Ælfric's original Latin text.²⁷⁴

The Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus reproduces the text from X^a, but omits the versions in B, T3, and X^e, printed in parallel columns by Fehr, as well as that in G.

²⁷² Ælfric's Old English *Decalogus Moysi*, taken from his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan*, appears here independently; the text should be distinguished from his Latin *Decalogus Moysi* [6.3 below].

²⁷³ *Councils and Synods*, p. 258.

²⁷⁴ Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, p. 257.

4.2. Letters to Clergy

4.2.1. Letter to the Monks of Eynsham (in Latin)²⁷⁵

- Overview: Ælfric's adaptation of the *Regularis concordia*, the monastic customary compiled by Æthelwold of Winchester in the early 970s, outlines for Ælfric's community at Eynsham the daily and seasonal round of liturgical responsibilities.²⁷⁶
- Date: ca 1005²⁷⁷
- MS: Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 237–68
- Edition: Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 110–48; Latin preface also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 123–4.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS Y6 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nh277tk2537>.
- Translation: The Latin preface is translated by Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 133–4; and the whole by Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 111–49.
- Notes: In addition to providing extensive commentary on liturgical matters, Jones' edition re-examines [1] the date of the *Letter*, suggesting that it may have been written some years after the re-founding of Eynsham ca 1005, [2] Ælfric's sources, looking at his adaptation of Æthelwold's *Regularis concordia* and Amalarius of Metz' *Liber officialis*, [3] the complex manuscript in which it is found (Y6), suggesting an association not with archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book' but with Wulfstan II of Worcester, and [4] scholarly confusion of the *Letter* with an anonymous Old English translation of the *Regularis concordia*.

²⁷⁵ While the *Letter* is listed here for ease of reference, Jones notes that it is properly a customary for rather than a letter to the monks of Eynsham; entitling it as such, however, risks confusion with another famous 'Eynsham Customary' of the fourteenth century (*Ælfric's Letter*, p. 4 n. 11). Jones himself classes it with 'Epitomes and Abridgements' rather than 'Pastoral Letters', noting that while it is traditionally associated with the latter, the *Letter* 'does not quite fit either category' ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 9).

²⁷⁶ Hill observes that the *Letter* 'is not, as [Ælfric] points out, an introduction to the regular life, and he argues that we should perhaps see it primarily as an exposition of some of the finer points of the liturgy' – that is, the 'elaborated liturgy at Winchester, [learned] initially under Æthelwold himself' ('Life and Works', p. 62).

²⁷⁷ See 'Chronology', pp. 54 and 57; and Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. xlvii. In his edition of the *Letter*, while Jones offers 'ca 1005' as a cautious date, he points to Ælfric's statement in the *Letter* that the Eynsham monks have obeyed him *iam preteritis annis* ('for years now'), observing: 'Ælfric by his own account composed the document two or more years after his appointment. The shadow of doubt accordingly falls across the assumption that the customary must have been one of the first works Ælfric produced as abbot' (*Letter*, p. 11).

4.3. *Letters to Laymen*

4.3.1. [cf. B.1.8.7, *De sanguine*] *Letter to Brother Edward**

- Overview: This private letter to one who may have been Ælfric's blood relative²⁷⁸ develops in three sections: the first discusses prohibitions against eating blood, the second rebukes Edward for choosing Danish fashions of hair and dress, and the third condemns the practice of certain countrywomen who eat and drink at parties while going to the bathroom.
- Date: 995 x 1000 'or a little later'²⁷⁹
- MSS: P1 [Ker §332.15], fols 60r–61r [all three sections]; R1 [Ker §41A.13], pp. 137–8 [first two sections]; and S [Ker §333.23], pp. 377–9 [first section]
- Edition: Clayton, 'Edition', pp. 280–2; and 'Student Edition', p. 42, including textual notes and a glossary (pp. 43–6). The first section, *De sanguine*, was originally printed by Kluge, 'Fragment', p. 62; the second section was printed by Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 56; and Whitelock, *Documents*, p. 896.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS R1 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Translation: Clayton, 'Edition', pp. 281–3.
- Notes: Only P1 has all three sections; R1 has the first two sections 'followed by an erasure which shows that the scribe began to write the third section but changed his mind (out of squeamishness?)',²⁸⁰ while S has only the first.

On the issue of Ælfric's authorship, see Whitelock and Wormald, who view the piece as anonymous;²⁸¹ Clemoes, who thrice calls it 'in my opinion, not by Ælfric';²⁸² Pope, who attributes the introductory sentence (and thus apparently the compilation) to an anonymous extractor, while averring that 'there is no doubt that all three sections are Ælfric's';²⁸³ Godden, who accepts Pope's 'attribution ... to Ælfric' of the piece;²⁸⁴ and Clayton, who finds Pope 'very persuasive' and adds her own arguments for Ælfric's authorship of the three sections.²⁸⁵ Clayton likewise sees as anonymous 'the work of whoever adapted the beginning and cut of at least the initial

²⁷⁸ Clayton, 'Edition', pp. 277–8.

²⁷⁹ Clayton, 'Edition', p. 278.

²⁸⁰ Clayton, 'Edition', p. 266.

²⁸¹ *English Historical Documents*, vol. I, p. 895; and 'Engla Lond', p. 18, respectively.

²⁸² *First Series*, pp. 34, 39, and 41.

²⁸³ *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 56–7.

²⁸⁴ *Second Series*, p. lxxvii and n. 1.

²⁸⁵ 'Edition', pp. 264–5.

greeting with which a letter would have begun', however, implying that Ælfric was not responsible for the Letter's extant form, even if its parts derived originally from text(s) by Ælfric – multiple works composed at different times, a single Pastoral Letter, or a single private letter (the latter being Clayton's conclusion).²⁸⁶ See 2.1.3 above for Clayton's attribution to Ælfric of the R-type collection as a whole and 1.6.1.4.3 on the possible relationship of the *Letter* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials.

4.3.2. [B.1.8.4] *Letter to Sigeweard, or Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo*²⁸⁷

Overview: Ælfric's treatise on the Old and New Testaments, written for the otherwise-unknown 'Sigeweard of Eastheolon',²⁸⁸ summarily traces the course of biblical history from the creation and fall of the angels to the day of Judgement and life thereafter. Ælfric discusses the spiritual significance of particular events, sets them in context of the eight Ages of the world, gives an excerpt from the life of the apostle John, speaks of the three orders of *laboratores*, *bellatores*, and *oratores* (those who work, war, and pray), and recounts the destruction of the Jews.

Date: ca 1005–6

MSS: B [Ker §310.65], fols 129r–132r [lines 1–494 (to *wurðmente*)];
H [Ker §220.7], fols 33r–35r [lines 676–814; imperfect at edges of leaves];
Za [Ker §344.4], fols 120v–141v;
X^h [Ker §239.21–22], fols 125v–128v [lines 676–814 and 889–923]; and
Y2 [not in Ker]

Edition: Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 201–30, and Swain, *Letter to Sigeweard*; formerly Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 15–75, with excerpts also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, pp. 124–5.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS H and X^h are available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3271.

Translation: Magennis, '*Letter to Sigeweard*', pp. 213–35; Swain, *Letter to Sigeweard*

²⁸⁶ 'Edition', pp. 275 and 265 n. 1; see also p. 276.

²⁸⁷ Marsden titles the text (and refers to it in shorthand) as the *Libellus* (*Heptateuch*, p. 201).

²⁸⁸ Wilcox notes that a thegn of this name appears as witness to the Eynsham charter (Sawyer §911, noted also by Hall, 'Laodicians', p. 67), but that Keynes cautions against identifying him with the recipient of this letter (*Prefaces*, p. 161; cf. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 193 n. 143). Wilcox identifies Eastheolon as Asthall, Oxfordshire, some eight miles west of Eynsham (*Prefaces*, p. 161; see also Gelling, *Place-Names* 2:299; and Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*, p. 39). For a discussion of Sigeweard's possible status as local gentry, see Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', pp. 186–7.

and 'Letter to Sigeweard', pp. 346–83; and Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 15–75.

Notes: Marsden edits the text from Za, collating and supplying readings where needed from B; the latter, containing only the first part on the Old Testament, is also printed as Assmann 7 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 81–91). Swain's ebook, drawn from his doctoral dissertation, uses Za as its base manuscript and includes variants from B, H, and X^h, but not Y2. Not edited by Marsden or Crawford: H, Y2, or X^h.

Magennis observes that in the course of providing an overview of the books of the Bible and basic commentary on events and figures therein, Ælfric 'refers to many of his previous biblical translations and homilies, so that the [*Letter*] presents something of a retrospective overview of his own biblical writings, as well as being an overview of the Bible itself' ('Ælfric of Eynsham's *Letter to Sigeweard*', p. 210; see also Davis, 'Ælfric's Style and the Politics of Time', p. 331).

Three sections of the *Letter* – self-contained pieces ending with variations of the formula 'God se þe a rixað. Amen' ('God, who reigns forever, Amen'²⁸⁹) – saw life in other contexts. Lines 676–814 (*Hieronimus se wurþfulla* [4.4.1 below]), a vignette regarding John the Apostle, appears independently in MSS H and X^h [Ker §§220.7 and 239.22]; Godden suggests that it, like other compilations of Ælfrician material in H, 'may be by Ælfric too'.²⁹⁰ Lines 889–923 (*Be þam Iudeiscum* [4.4.3 below]), discussing what befell the Jews who crucified Christ, appears just before *Hieronimus se wurþfulla* in X^h [Ker §239.21]. Lines 866–88 (*Witan sceoldon smeagan* [4.4.5 below]), concerning the three categories of *laboratores*, *bellatores*, and *oratores*, is not found independently anywhere, but was adapted by Wulfstan for inclusion in his *Institutues of Polity*.²⁹¹

4.3.3. [B.1.8.5] *Letter to Sigefyrth*²⁹²

Overview: Also called *Be þære halgan clænnysse*, this work considers the issue of chastity. Ælfric lists apostles, Church Fathers, and monks who lived in purity; contrasts patriarchal custom and Mosaic Law with

²⁸⁹ This concluding formula, found nowhere else in the *Letter* (including its final ending), is preserved in the text at lines 814, 888, and 923.

²⁹⁰ *Second Series*, p. lxvi.

²⁹¹ As his fourth chapter, entitled 'Be Cynestole' (Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 55–8), revising at least lines 866–81 of Ælfric's *Letter* (Kubouchi, *Continuity of English Prose*, p. 75).

²⁹² An unidentified figure; again, while a 'Sigefyrth' witnesses the Eynsham charter, Keynes cautions that he may not be the individual addressed here (see Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 162; and Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 193 n. 143). For a discussion of Sigefyrth's possible status as local gentry, see Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', pp. 186–7.

the higher demands of the New Testament; and discusses the three states pleasing to God – marriage, widowhood, and virginity – in terms of the good soil which brings forth a thirty-, sixty-, or hundred-fold crop (Matthew 13.8; cf. CH II.6.117–35 and Assmann 3, lines 375–82).

Date: ca 1005–6

MSS: G [Ker §209.2], fol. 6v (Old English preface, ending imperfect);
H [Ker §220.49], fols 182v–184v [adapted to form a homily; imperfect at edges of leaves];²⁹³
N [Ker §153.3], fols 17v–21v [adapted to form a homily] (includes Old English preface²⁹⁴);
O [Ker §56.9], pp. 66–71 [adapted to form a homily];
V1a [Ker §68.15]; pp. 347–52 [adapted];²⁹⁵ and
Tr6 [not in Ker], fols 10r–12r (includes Old English preface)

Edition: Assmann 2 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 13–23); Old English preface also ed. Wilcox, *Prefaces*, p. 125.

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS H, O, and V1a are available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg531kv2466>, and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sb541hg4710>.

Notes: The *Letter* appears in various forms in different manuscripts. In MS H, lines 13–224 form the first part of a homiletic adaptation of debated authorship called *De sancta uirginitate* [1.6.1.2.2 above]. N and O contain another homiletic adaptation ‘unlikely’ in Clemoes’ view to have been made by Ælfric.²⁹⁶ In V1a, furthermore, lines 132–88 form the first of the four parts of *De uirginitate* [1.6.1.4.4 above], again of debated authorship.

Not collated by Assmann: V1a.

²⁹³ Includes both Assmann 2, lines 13–224 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 13–23) and Assmann 3, lines 505–97 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, p. 44); Assmann 2 ends on fol. 184v, line 22.

²⁹⁴ Preface to Sigefyrth (Assmann 2, lines 1–12) copied in the margin of fol. 17v by John Joscelyn from MS G [Ker §209.2], fol. 6v.

²⁹⁵ §68.15 comprises pp. 347–66, but Assman 2 [lines 133–88 (*Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 19–21)] goes only through p. 352, line 17 (Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 116).

²⁹⁶ Clemoes states: ‘It is unlikely that, as Assmann assumed, Ælfric was responsible for [N’s and O’s] homiletic adaptation [of Assmann 2 / *Letter to Sigefyrth*], since there is neither internal nor external evidence to associate it with him: it is formed simply by cutting out the introductory portion of the letter and lacks all the authentic additions of Vitellius’ text, while all the other homilies for Sundays after Epiphany beyond the third, which in [N’s and O’s] common source supplemented Ælfric’s series for Christmas to the Sunday after Pentecost, were not derived from his writings at all’ (‘Supplement’, p. xvii).

4.3.4. [B.1.8.6] *Letter to Wulfgeat*

- Overview: This letter, written to one 'Wulfgeat at Ymandune',²⁹⁷ first explores basic creedal issues such as the nature of the Trinity, the fall of the angels and men, the death and resurrection of Christ, and the Last Judgement, and then draws on Christ's Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5.25–6) to expound on man's need to be reconciled to God.
- Date: ca 1005–6
- MSS: H [Ker §220.1], fols 1r and 4r–5v [imperfect at edges of leaves];
P1 [Ker §332.27], fols 95r–99v [adapted to form a homily];
T3 [Ker §338.28], fols 124r–130v; and
Za [Ker §344.3], fols 115v–120v
- Edition: Assmann 1, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 1–12.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS H is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V.
- Notes: Portions of the letter are re-used in other texts: Assmann 1, lines 90–312 appear as *Esto consentiens aduersario* in T3 [1.6.1.4.1 above], lines 8–61a correspond to *SH* I.11a.1–54a, and lines 65–84 are interwoven with portions of *SH* I.11 in *SH* I.11a.135–70.²⁹⁸ Not collated by Assmann: H.

4.4. *Passages that May Have Been Excerpted or Adapted from Letters*²⁹⁹

4.4.1. *Hieronimus se wurþfulla**

- Overview: This treatment of the life of John the Apostle speaks of his persecution under Domitian and care for a young man whom he entrusted to the bishop of Ephesus and later redeemed from sinful ways.
- Date: In or before ca 1005–6³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ Identified as Ilmington, Warwickshire, by Williams, *Æthelred the Unready*, p. 39. For a discussion of Wulfgeat's possible status as local gentry, see Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', pp. 186–7.

²⁹⁸ See Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 454, and Apparatus II, vol. I, pp. 463–5 and 468–9.

²⁹⁹ For this subcategory, see Pope (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 144), who also included *SH* II.22 and *Quomodo Acitofel* [3.2.2]. Clemons observes that 'it was Ælfric's normal practice to quarry his letters for homiletic material' ('Chronology', p. 64 n. 28). For longer works related to letters, note also *De sancta uirginitate* [1.6.1.2.2], a homily for the Proper of the Season drawn from the *Letter to Sigefyrth* [4.3.3]; *Esto consentiens aduersario* [1.6.1.4.1], a homily for an unspecified occasion drawing on the *Letter to Wulfgeat* [4.3.4]; *De uirginitate* [1.6.1.4.4], drawing on the *Letter to Sigefyrth* [4.3.3]; and *De creatore* and *De sex etatibus* [2.1.6–7], which 'may have formed the body of an instructive letter of the sort that Ælfric wrote for Wulfgeat and for Sigeweard' (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 87). Items here are presented in alphabetical order (discounting *Be [þam]*).

³⁰⁰ That is, the composition of the *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2 below].

- MSS: H [Ker §220.7], fols 33r–35r [lines 676–814; imperfect at edges of leaves]; and X^h [Ker §239.22], fols 126r–128v
- Edition: Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 223–7; formerly Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 61–8.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS H and X^h are available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3271.
- Translation: Magennis, ‘*Letter to Sigeweard*’, pp. 227–32; and Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 61–8.
- Notes: This self-contained selection from Ælfric’s *Letter to Sigeweard* (lines 676–814) appears as an independent work in MSS H and X^h; Godden suggests that it, like other compilations of Ælfrician material in H, ‘may be by Ælfric too’.³⁰¹ As with lines 866–88 and 889–923 therein (*Witan sceoldon smeagan* and *Be þam Iudeiscum* [4.4.5 and 4.4.3 below]), if the passage is original to the *Letter*, it could readily have been extracted by a later compiler, as it is a self-contained unit understandable on its own. Certain factors, however, raise the possibility that in all three cases Ælfric may have been mining pieces he had previously composed. All three appear after Ælfric’s systematic progression through the Bible, rather than being integrated into that narrative. All three preserve variations on a closing formula (‘God ... se þe a rixað. Amen’ [‘God, who reigns forever, Amen’ (lines 814, 888, and 923)]) that appear nowhere else in the *Letter*, including its final end. All three appear toward the end of the lengthy *Letter*, when Ælfric might conceivably have been more inclined to take expeditious means to reach his conclusion. And all three do appear in some form independently: *Hieronimus se wurpfulla* in H and X^h, *Be þam Iudeiscum* immediately before in X^h, and *Witan sceoldon smeagan* was adapted by Wulfstan for inclusion in his *Institutes of Polity*.³⁰² *Hieronimus se wurpfulla* in particular one could imagine Ælfric composing and circulating separately before incorporating it into the *Letter*, as there Ælfric introduces it with a sentence not found in H or X^h: ‘Ic mæg þe secgan git sum þing be Iohanne ...’ [‘I may tell you something further about John ...’ (lines 673–6)]. See 4.3.2 above and 4.4.3 and 4.4.5 below.

³⁰¹ *Second Series*, p. lxvi.

³⁰² As his fourth chapter, entitled ‘Be Cynestole’ (Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 55–8), revising at least lines 866–81 of Ælfric’s *Letter* (Kubouchi, *Continuity of English Prose*, p. 75).

†4.4.2. [B.1.9.6] *In quadragesima, de penitentia*

- Overview: A treatise for Lent on repentance, penance, and the nature of the Trinity.
- Date: 992, after January x June
- MSS: E [*Læwedum mannum is to witane*, Ker §48.62], fols 311v–316r [augmented];
J2 [*Se hælend Crist*, Ker §283.5], fols 35v, line 25 – 36r, line 15 [extract];
K [*De penitentia* [UK 19], Ker §15.95], fols 262v–263v; and
X^b [*Gelyfst ðu on God*, Ker §58a], fol. 117rv [extract]
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 19; previously Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 602–8.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS E and X^b are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mt087kd8953>.
- Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 603–9.
- Notes: Sections of the treatise, which Clemoes and Pope suggest may have been excerpted or adapted from a now-lost letter,³⁰³ recur in Ælfric's later sermon for Shrove Tuesday: p. 602, line 1 – p. 604, line 8 appear in one part of LS 11 [Skeat I.12.141–77], while p. 604, lines 8–20 correspond to another part [Skeat LS I.12.254–67].³⁰⁴ Thorpe prints the text from K, but omits the adaptation in E and extracts in J2 and Corpus 320.

4.4.3. *Be þam Iudeiscum**

- Overview: Ælfric here describes what befell the Jews who crucified Christ: some repented and were saved, some persecuted the prophets, and many suffered when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus. Serving God in one's deeds, Ælfric concludes, is more important than paying him lip service alone – though teaching that edifies others may bring praise to God as well.
- Date: In or before *ca* 1005–6³⁰⁵
- MS: X^b [Ker §239.21], fols 125v–126r

³⁰³ 'Chronology', p. 36; and *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 144, respectively.

³⁰⁴ On this borrowing, see Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 63 n. 22; and Clayton, *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 30. As noted above, Clayton helpfully observes that LS 11 [Skeat I.12], while associated with Ash Wednesday by Skeat (*Lives*, vol. I, pp. 9 and 261), is in fact for Shrove Tuesday (personal correspondence, 24 March 2017).

³⁰⁵ That is, the composition of the *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2 below].

- Edition: Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 229; formerly Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 72–4.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^h is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_3271.
- Translation: Magennis, 'Letter to Sigeward', p. 234; and Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 61–8.
- Notes: This selection from Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeward* (lines 889–923) appears as an independent work in X^h. As discussed above under *Hieronimus se wurþfulla* [4.4.1], a number of factors raise the possibility that the section was one Ælfric previously composed. In X^h, however, *Be þam Iudeiscum* starts with the sentence that introduces it in the *Letter*: 'Ic wolde secgan be [þam Iudeiscum] ... ac ic wolde ærest secgan þæt þæt ic gesæd hæbbe' ('I wanted to tell about [the Jews] ... but I wanted first to recount that which I have conveyed' [lines 889–91]). The lack here of an obvious referent makes the passage more likely to have been extracted from a source like the *Letter* than to have been composed as it stands. By extension, one might draw a similar conclusion about *Hieronimus se wurþfulla*, which immediately follows it in X^h: both may simply be extracts from the *Letter* made by an anonymous compiler. Confusingly, however, *Hieronimus* does not include the transitional sentence [lines 673–6] that introduces it in the *Letter*, either in X^h or in H, where it appears with other compilations of Ælfrician material that Godden associates with Ælfric himself.³⁰⁶ Two other possibilities present themselves. First, *Be þam Iudeiscum* may originally have lacked the introduction; Ælfric would thus have taken what are now lines 891 [beginning *Manega ðær*] – 923 and composed a transitional sentence to insert it in the *Letter*. Perhaps less likely, Ælfric could have taken *Be þam Iudeiscum* with its transition from another text, where the passage followed other material 'that he had conveyed'. Either way, we are left with now-lost originals and an awkward pair of entries in X^h: *Hieronimus* as a neatly freestanding piece assigned by Godden potentially to Ælfric, and *Be þam Iudeiscum* with an amputated opening for which one hesitates to do the same. See 3.2.1, 3.2.9, and 4.3.2 above.

†4.4.4. [B.1.9.7] *Læwedum mannum is to witenne*

- Overview: A brief exhortation to laymen on chastity, fasting, and sobriety during Lent.
- Date: 992, after January x June

³⁰⁶ *Second Series*, p. lxvi.

- MSS: K [Ker §15.96], fols 263v–264r; and P1 [Ker §332.13], fol. 59v
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 20; previously Thorpe (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 608).
- Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 609.
- Notes: Thorpe prints this text, which Pope suggests may have been excerpted or adapted from a now-lost letter,³⁰⁷ from MS K, without collating the copy in P1. On the possible relationship of *Læwedum mannum* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

4.4.5. *Witan sceoldon smeagan**

- Overview: As in *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [3.2.3 above], but in different terms, Ælfric discusses the three categories of *laboratores*, *bellatores*, and *oratores*, noting their importance for earthly rulers and the heavenly reward waiting those who fulfil their roles well.
- Date: In or before *ca* 1005–6³⁰⁸
- MS: Za [Ker §344.4], fol. 140rv
- Edition: Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 228–9; formerly Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 71–2.
- Translation: Magennis, 'Letter to Sigeweard', pp. 233–4; and Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 71–2.
- Notes: This self-contained selection from Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* (lines 866–8) appears nowhere independently. Given its similarity to two other self-contained passages therein, however – *Hieronimus se wurþfulla* and *Be þam Iudeiscum* [4.4.1 and 4.4.3 above] – in, for example, their shared closing formula (variations on 'God ... se þe a rixað. Amen' ['God, who reigns forever, Amen' (lines 814, 888, and 923)]), it is conceivable that it too may have originally formed a separate work. See 3.2.1–2 and 4.3.2 above.

³⁰⁷ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 144.

³⁰⁸ That is, the composition of the *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2 above].

5. Prefaces

Ælfric's Latin and Old English prefaces – his choice of language having no small influence on their content – merit study in their own right for their insight into Ælfric's concerns as an author and the context of his work; for the present purposes, however, the prefaces are listed with their respective texts above. They include his Latin and Old English prefaces to *CH* I [1.1]; Latin and Old English prefaces to *CH* II [1.2]; the Old English preface to *Admonitio ad filium spirituale* [2.2]; Latin and Old English prefaces to the *Grammar* [2.4.1], Old English *Prefatio* to Genesis [3.1.3], Latin and Old English prefaces to the *Lives of Saints* [3.2.1], including the Old English preface to the Life of Edmund (*LS* 29 [Skeat II.32]) and Latin preface to the Life of Thomas (*LS* 32 [Skeat II.36]); the Latin preface to *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* [3.2.5]; the Latin preface to the *Letter for Wulfsige* [4.1.1]; the Latin preface to the *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [4.1.5]; the Latin preface to the *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [4.1.6]; the Latin preface to the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* [4.2.1]; and the Old English preface to the *Letter to Sigefyrth* [4.3.3]. All have been re-edited by Wilcox, who discusses the works in which they are found, Ælfric's prose style, the function of the prefaces, and their textual history (*Prefaces*; see also Del Zotto Tozzoli, 'La predicazione').

6. Epitomes and Abridgements³⁰⁹

Ælfric scholars widely accept that Ælfric made (or caused to have made) epitomes of Latin material on subjects of interest, which he often used as sources for later compositions.³¹⁰ Not a few candidates proposed for inclusion in Ælfric's corpus post Clemoes and Pope fall, in fact, into this nebulous category of extracts, redactions, abbreviations, or compilations. The line between 'epitomes' and 'compositions' is blurred, however, by the fact that most of Ælfric's Latin works and many of his vernacular ones are abbreviations of some sort.³¹¹ Identifying the degree of Ælfric's responsibility for epitomes is problematized, moreover, by Ælfric's degree of proficiency and working methods in Latin. Jones, in particular, has shown that while scholars have (understandably) looked in Ælfric's Latin works for qualities characteristic of his vernacular style – brevity and clarity, in particular – his skill in fact falls short of what one might expect from 'the Grammarian': while certainly 'competent ... , even rising at times to quiet distinction', Ælfric's 'apparent reluctance to write ambitious, extended Latin prose of his own and the awkwardness sometimes evidenced in his attempts to piece together long, complex sentences, could suggest an author who was never as at home in Latin as a medium for original composition as he was in Old English'.³¹² In terms of technique, furthermore, Jones warns that the rough-hewn nature of certain extracts 'should perhaps not be overvalued as evidence against Ælfric's authorship': at times, Ælfric cuts and splices blocks of text verbatim, producing 'a *grammatically* tolerable approximation, whose textual and interpretative shortcomings might only have emerged later, in the more deeply analytical process of translation'.³¹³ While an extract's style may still provide a basis for associating it with Ælfric, therefore – along with textual correspondences to authentic Ælfrician works, or a presence in manuscripts closely associated with him, such as putative witnesses to Ælfrician Commonplace Books – the often unpolished nature of such items accentuates their liminal canonical status. For selections copied more or less verbatim, with little to no evidence of agency or intervention, the problem is acute, challenging even generous notions of what it means to be 'Ælfrician'. *Caueat litteratus*.

6.1. *Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid* (in Latin)*

Overview: This copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.17–18 [19–20] regarding Queen Æthelthryth recounts the saint's marriages, continued virginity, appointment as abbess, self-denial, affliction from a tumour, and posthumous bodily incorruptibility; and closes with

³⁰⁹ Items here loosely follow the section proposed by Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 7–16, but are alphabetically arranged (discounting *De*). On the challenge of making fine distinctions of genre with Ælfric's works, see note to 'Letters' [4.] above.

³¹⁰ See for example Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 7–8; Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 39; and Gatch, *Cult of Saints*, p. 59.

³¹¹ Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 7.

³¹² 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 52; see also pp. 2–3 and 53.

³¹³ 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 48 and 45.

an acrostic hymn praising the triumph of Æthelthryth and others as virgin brides of Christ.

- Date: Perhaps between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998; or (more specifically) between [A] *ca* 987 and [B] January x June 992
- MS: Y25 [not in Ker], fols 81r–84v
- Edition: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 4.17–18 [19–20],³¹⁴ see now Lapidge *et al.*, *Histoire*, vol. II, pp. 292–308; formerly edited as Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, 390–6.
- Translation: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 4.17–18 [19–20], see Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, pp. 391–7.
- Notes: Lapidge describes the entry as ‘excerpts from Bede’;³¹⁵ apart from omitting 3.4.18.1 (lines 1–7), however – a first-person reflection on the origin and nature of the hymn that follows – the text reproduces Bede’s chapters in full. Ælfric appears to have drawn on this section of the *Historia* for his Life of Æthelthryth (*LS* 19 [Skeat I.20]).³¹⁶ On Y25 as arguably a witness to one of Ælfric’s Commonplace Books, see 3.2.5 above.

6.2. *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis** (in Latin)

- Overview: This ‘radical re-organization’ of extracts from Jerome’s *Epistulae* 69 (§§8–9) and *Commentaria in epistolam ad Titum* (§1) that were reproduced in chapters 10–11 of the 816 Council of Aachen provides an ‘easily readable commentary’ on 1 Timothy 3.23 and 6 and Titus 1.7–9, concerning qualities required of bishops, that is ‘strongly reminiscent of homiletic explication’.³¹⁷
- Date: Between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991 or *ca* 1005
- MSS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 23r–24v;
Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 190–4; and
Y9 [Ker §99], fols 21r–23r
- Edition: Partially printed by Fehr *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 257–8.³¹⁸ Digital edition by Elliot and Major (‘Ecclesiastical Orders’, pp. 7–11).

³¹⁴ For the different manuscript chapter divisions of Book IV of the *Historia*, see Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 380, note c.

³¹⁵ *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 556.

³¹⁶ See Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 557; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; ‘Records for Source Title Hist.eccl’; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, p. 433.

³¹⁷ Cross, ‘Contents’, pp. 15–16, and Jones, ‘Medieval Latin Author’, pp. 15–16; see also Clemoes, ‘Benedictine Office’, p. 273.

³¹⁸ Fehr provides the incipits and explicits of the various extracts, along with references to their source.

Digital Images: The whole of MS Y6 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nh277tk2537>.

Notes: This entry follows *Isidori de sacerdotibus* [6.16 below] and *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis* [6.21 below] in Y4, Y6, and Y9. Raynes and Cross loosely group the three texts together as ‘Excerpts’,³¹⁹ while Elliot and Major treat the whole as a work titled ‘On the Ecclesiastical Orders’, of which *Excerpta de episcopis* forms the last part (lines 166–248).

Raynes states that the *Beati Hieronimi excerpta* was ‘apparently never used by Ælfric, but, like [*Gregorii de pastoribus*, *Isidori de sacerdotibus* and *De septem gradibus* (6.10, 15, and 18 below), which precede them in] the Boulogne manuscript, it would have been of interest to him’.³²⁰ Clemoes, going further, finds it ‘reasonable to think’ that Ælfric compiled the text.³²¹ Jones likewise observes that the manner in which the *Excerpta* adapts its source(s) to balance Scriptural quotations with commentary thereon ‘accords with our expectations of Ælfric, although ... it is conceivable that some prior redactor had carried out these modifications before Ælfric came across the text’ – in other words, copied or had it copied out, as opposed to composing it himself.³²² Cross, finally, adding to Clemoes’ arguments, definitively sees in *De sacerdotibus*, *De septem gradibus*, and *Excerpta de episcopis* Ælfric’s characteristic engagement with his sources. He concludes: ‘All the evidence of methods of composition and manuscript association suggests that Ælfric prepared [these three works]’.³²³ On the extracts’ relationship to Y4’s Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

6.3. *Decalogus Moysi* (in Latin)³²⁴

Overview: A brief exposition of the Ten Commandments based on Exodus 20.3–17, omitting verses 4–6 and 9–11, truncating verse 12, and substituting Deuteronomy 5.21 for verse 17.³²⁵

Date: Between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991, or perhaps ca 1006

MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], p. 2 [extract]; and
Y4 [not in Ker], fols 31r–32r

³¹⁹ Raynes, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, pp. 68–9; and Cross, ‘Contents’, pp. 15–16. See also Cross and Tunberg, ‘Introduction’.

³²⁰ ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 69.

³²¹ ‘Benedictine Office’, p. 281; see also p. 275.

³²² ‘Medieval Latin Author’, p. 16; see also pp. 14 and 18.

³²³ ‘Contents’, p. 16.

³²⁴ Ælfric’s Latin *Decalogus Moysi* should be distinguished from his vernacular work of the same name, taken from his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan*.

³²⁵ Raynes, ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 71.

- Edition: Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 190–203, apparatus for *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* §§120–44 [4.1.6 above].
- Digital Images: Page 2 of MS X^a, along with the rest of the manuscript, is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.
- Notes: Ælfric's authorship of the *Decalogus*, proposed tentatively by Fehr,³²⁶ was confirmed by Clemons, saying: 'There is not much doubt that the piece is by Ælfric. Its manner is exactly his'.³²⁷ Raynes affirms that Ælfric translates it in his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* §§120–45,³²⁸ that Wulfstan draws on it in his Latin homily *Bethurum* Xb, and that Wulfstan may have translated it into Old English in *Bethurum* Xc and *De preceptis domini*.³²⁹ The Latin list of commands also appears as part of *De initio creature* in a witness to Wulfstan's Handbook,³³⁰ and may have influenced Ælfric's CH II.12.255–337 and *De sex etatibus huius seculi* [2.1.7 above]. For a discussion of this and other treatments of the Ten Commandments in Anglo-Saxon England, see Kleist, 'Division'. On the *Decalogus*' relationship to Ælfric's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above and 6.15 below.

6.4. *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum de libris recipiendis** (in Latin)

- Overview: The *Decretum* lists the canonical books of the Old and New Testament; discusses the episcopal primacy of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; affirms the synods of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and identifies various ecclesiastical writings as orthodox or apocryphal.
- Date: Between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
- MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 26r–29r
- Edition: Of Ælfric's version, none.
- Notes: Raynes suggests that the pseudo-Gelasian Decree (PL 59.157–64) may have served as Ælfric's ultimate (though not immediate) source for information about synods in his *Letter for Wulfsige* §§5–10 and 93–7 [4.1.1 above],³³¹ *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* §§46–60 [4.1.3 above],³³² and *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* §§47–63 [4.1.5

³²⁶ *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. xiii and 190.

³²⁷ 'Benedictine Office', pp. 277–80, at p. 278; see also 'Supplement', pp. cxlvii–cxlviii.

³²⁸ Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 188–205.

³²⁹ The latter found in Y5, p. 52 [Ker §49.25]; see Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 71.

³³⁰ X^a, p. 2 [not described in Ker §45A]; see *Bethurum*, 'Commonplace Book', p. 922, cited by Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 71.

³³¹ *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 2–3 and 21–2.

³³² *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 41–2.

above]^{333,334} Gatch further observes that Ælfric's condemnation of the *Visio Pauli* (CH II.20.14–16) and the Life of Thomas (*Excusatio distantis* 7–17) reflects proscriptions in the *Decretum* (at PL 59.164) and suggests that it may have been the *Decretum* that inspired Ælfric's own condemnation of *mycel gedwyld* and unorthodox/non-authoritative writings in his prefaces to the First Series.³³⁵ On the *Decretum*'s relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

6.5. *De ecclesiastica consuetudine**

- Overview: Descriptions of monastic practice for liturgical occasions and seasons – Advent, Christmas, the Purification of Mary, Septuagesima, Lent, Palm Sunday, Holy Week, and Pentecost – adapted imperfectly to secular use.³³⁶
- Date: Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1005
- MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 213–25 and 236–7;³³⁷
Y22 [not in Ker], fol. 40rv;³³⁸ and
Y29 [not in Ker], fols 178v–183r³³⁹
- Edition: Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 257–62; Jones §12 also in Cross, 'Newly-Identified Manuscript', pp. 77–8; formerly Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 234–40.³⁴⁰
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.
- Notes: Jones describes *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* as a series of 'passages from the [Regularis] Concordia adapted for secular churches and supplemented from the *Liber officialis* (or *De ecclesiasticis officiis*), an allegorizing treatise on the liturgy by Amalarius of Metz (d. 852

³³³ *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 90–9.

³³⁴ Raynes observes, moreover, that 'The decree, of course, would have been of interest to any Churchman' ('Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 71).

³³⁵ 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 489.

³³⁶ Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 87.

³³⁷ While sections 1–12 of *De ecclesiastica* appear in sequence in Y29, the final section (*Qualiter quattuor tempora agantur*, §12) appears in X^a following the *Institutio beati Amalarii* [6.14 below] on pp. 236–7. Jones edits the sections together, arguing that *Qualiter quattuor* not only treats its quotations from the *Regularis concordia* and Amalarius much like the rest of *De ecclesiastica*, but 'neatly rounds out the discussion of the liturgical seasons in that text' ('Two Composite Texts', p. 237).

³³⁸ Collated by Jones for §12, *Qualiter quattuor tempora agantur* (see 'Two Composite Texts', p. 256).

³³⁹ Cross, in his inventory of Y29, treats the final section of *De ecclesiastica* (*Qualiter quattuor tempora agantur*, §12) as a separate text, which he edits from X^a, Y22, and Y29 ('Newly-Identified Manuscript', pp. 77–8; see also p. 67). As noted above, however, Jones edits them together.

³⁴⁰ §§1–13 in Fehr, a 'very incomplete transcription' from X^a ('Two Composite Texts', p. 235 n. 7), correspond with Jones §§1–11.

or 853).³⁴¹ Two versions of the work survive: ‘an earlier form of the excerpts’ in Y29 and ‘a subsequent, significantly expanded version’ (adding sections 1 and 4) in X^a, a witness to Wulfstan’s Handbook.³⁴² Fehr attributed the text to Ælfric,³⁴³ but Clemoes rejected his argument, concluding, ‘There seems to me no reason to connect this piece with Ælfric at all’.³⁴⁴ Re-examining Ælfric’s Latin and verbal parallels between the *Regularis concordia*, Ælfric’s *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, and *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*, however, Jones concludes (as Joyce Hill puts it) that ‘there may be some Ælfrician connection, although he is cautious about making any positive claims for “authorship”, if indeed that is the right word for compilations of this kind’.³⁴⁵ Jones states: ‘Even if Ælfric is not responsible for the expanded version of the DEC in [X^a], he or someone under his direction may still have compiled the base text, similar to the form preserved in [Y29], and sent this to Wulfstan or whoever carried out the subsequent revisions’.³⁴⁶

6.6. *Erat in eodem monasterio** (in Latin)

- Overview: This copy of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.29–30 [31–2³⁴⁷] recounts two posthumous miracles by St Cuthbert, curing monks afflicted with paralysis and a tumour.
- Date: Perhaps between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) × *ca* 998; or (more specifically) between [A] *ca* 987 and [B] January × June 992
- MS: Y25 [not in Ker], fols 51v–53v
- Edition: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 4.29–30 [31–2], see now Lapidge *et al.*, *Histoire*, vol. II, pp. 378–84; formerly edited as Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, pp. 444–8.
- Translation: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 4.29–30 [31–2], see Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, pp. 445–9.
- Notes: Lapidge describes the entry as ‘excerpts from Bede’,³⁴⁸ which might seem to imply some level of selectivity or textual intervention on the epitomist’s part. The text appears to reproduce these chapters

³⁴¹ ‘Two Composite Texts’, p. 234.

³⁴² That is, the ‘Commonplace Book’ material; see ‘Two Composite Texts’, pp. 237–9. Y22 provides a third witness to section 12 (‘Two Composite Texts’, p. 256).

³⁴³ ‘Das Benediktiner-Offizium’, pp. 341–2; and *Hirtenbriefe*, p. cxxv and n. 1.

³⁴⁴ ‘Old English Benedictine Office’, pp. 277; see also p. 277 and ‘Supplement’, pp. cxlvi–cxlvii.

³⁴⁵ Hill, ‘Life and Works’, pp. 39–40.

³⁴⁶ ‘Two Composite Texts’, p. 254; see also ‘Medieval Latin Author’, pp. 13–14; and *Ælfric’s Letter*, p. 87.

³⁴⁷ For the different manuscript chapter divisions of Book IV of the *Historia*, see Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 380, note c.

³⁴⁸ *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 555.

in their entirety, however. The material has not been identified as a source for Ælfric's later work,³⁴⁹ though other selections from Bede's *Historia* in Y25 – *Regnauit igitur Osuald* [6.20], *In illo tempore gens* [6.13], and *Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid* [6.1] – served as sources for LS 20 [Skeat I.21] and 24 [Skeat II.26].³⁵⁰ On Y29 as arguably a witness to one of Ælfric's Commonplace Books, see 3.2.5 above.

6.7. *Primus igitur homo*^{*351} (in Latin)

- Overview: This abridgement of Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticum futuri saeculi* – a seventh-century florilegium of patristic eschatological thought that was enormously popular from the ninth to the twelfth century – abbreviates and rearranges material, adds patristic and Scriptural references, simplifies language, and removes 'overly abstract' notions, producing 'in effect a new and coherent tract'.³⁵²
- Date: (ca 964 x 970) – ca 987
- MSS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 1r–10r
- Edition: Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 134–46.
- Notes: Raynes, noting the *Epitome*'s rhythmical, alliterative style, argues that 'it is at least possible' that Ælfric compiled the extracts.³⁵³ Building on her work and pointing to a passage in CH I.27 that apparently draws on the *Epitome*, Gatch maintains 'with some confidence' not only that the work is Ælfric's, but that it is Ælfric's earliest datable work.³⁵⁴ Jones, noting these studies, agrees that Y4 preserves 'what appears to be a copy of a florilegium assembled by Ælfric' and that 'Ælfric himself has been shown to be the [*Epitome*]'s likely author'.³⁵⁵ Godden, finally, affirms that the work is 'almost certainly by Ælfric himself'.³⁵⁶ On the *Epitome*'s relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

³⁴⁹ Godden, *Commentary*, p. 415 n. 6.

³⁵⁰ See 'Records for Source Title Hist.eccl'; Jackson, 'Hist.eccl. Records'; Jayatilaka, 'Hist.eccl. Records'; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, p. 433, and vol. II, p. 125.

³⁵¹ Title taken from the opening of the text in Y4, fol. 1r. Gatch edited the text as 'Excerpts from Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon Futuri Saeculi*' (*Preaching and Theology*, 129–46), the Boulogne manuscript uses the term *Pronospicon* (fol. 1r), and Jones refers to it as the 'Epitome of Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*' ('Medieval Latin Author', pp. 9 n. 35 and 18), said title reflecting Hillgarth's edition of Julian's *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*, CCSL 115.

³⁵² Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 130–1. See also Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 9–10 and 41–5; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 408.

³⁵³ 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 65–7.

³⁵⁴ 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 482–6 and 488; see also *Preaching and Theology*, p. 129; as well as Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 40; and Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 227–8.

³⁵⁵ 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 9; see also pp. 41–5, 10, and 18.

³⁵⁶ *Commentary*, p. xlv.

6.8. *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni (in Latin)*

- Overview: The *Epitome* recounts how in the days of King Edgar, St Swithun posthumously appeared and commanded that Bishop Æthelwold move Swithun's body from his tomb into the church at Winchester; how many were miraculously healed by the saint as a result; how Swithun rebuked the monks of the Old Minister for grumbling about having to give thanks for Swithun's miracles multiple times a night; and how the author himself witnessed such healings and heard that the monks' obedient thanksgiving has continued 'to the present'.
- Date: Between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998³⁵⁷
- MSS: Y25 [not in Ker], fols 70v–74r
- Edition: Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 564–72.
- Translation: Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 565–73.
- Notes: In what Treharne calls 'a very strong case',³⁵⁸ Lapidge firmly argues for Ælfric's authorship of the *Epitome* based on the text's stylistic choices, embedded personal observations, and presence in a possible witness to Ælfric's Commonplace Books, Y25 [on which, see 3.2.5 above].³⁵⁹

6.9. *Excerptiones de Prisciano** (in Latin)

- Overview: The *Excerptiones* discuss various types of speech sounds; the nature, number, and differences between letters; Latin parts of speech (nouns and their declensions, pronouns, verbs and their conjugations, adverbs, participles, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections); Latin numbers; and the thirty divisions of grammar.
- Date: Between [A] January x June 992 and [B] early in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998
- MSS: Y3a and Y3b;³⁶⁰ Y8, fols 1r–89r; and Y26³⁶¹
- Edition: Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, pp. 44–326.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS Y3b is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_32246.

³⁵⁷ That is, between the death of Æthelwold and the publication of the *Lives of Saints*; see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, p. 553.

³⁵⁸ 'The Invisible Woman', p. 199.

³⁵⁹ *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 553–61.

³⁶⁰ While glosses and marginalia (including part of Ælfric's *Colloquy* [2.4.3]) were subsequently added to Y3, Ker notes that 'Originally the manuscript contained only the "Excerptiones"' (*Catalogue*, p. 2).

³⁶¹ Y26 contains but one text, the *Excerptiones* (Porter, 'Earliest Texts', p. 89).

Translation: Porter, *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, pp. 45–325.

Notes: While scholarship points to the *Excerptiones* as the principal source of Ælfric's *Grammar*, debate remains as to whether Ælfric authored the *Excerptiones* themselves. Porter, on the one hand, finds 'much similarity in working method and style' between the *Excerptiones* and Ælfric's *Grammar*, such as their use of sources; at the same time, he says, the 'strong hermeneutic element' in the *Excerptiones* and lack of 'personal signs of authorship ... by which Ælfric customarily claims his original work' suggest that if the text is his, it would have to be an early work, published well before his completion of the *Catholic Homilies*.³⁶² He concludes that Ælfric did in fact compile the *Excerptiones*, perhaps as a student piece: 'Let us guess, then, that Ælfric had a hand in producing the *Excerptiones*, all or part, perhaps during his student days at Winchester where he studied under Æthelwold.'³⁶³ (29). Such a position stands in contrast to that of Law of two decades before, who acknowledges that the *Excerptiones* may have been used in Æthelwold's school at Winchester, but describes them as of 'uncertain origin'.³⁶⁴ Jones, following Law, suggests that ascribing the text to Ælfric 'does not fit well with our limited knowledge of the transmission of the work', even while observing: 'If the work is Ælfric's, however, it obviously has many affinities with the various types of epitome he used and, in some cases, authored.'³⁶⁵ Lapidge, writing after Law, Jones, and Porter, acknowledges Law's view, but (in the words of Joyce Hill) 'seems to accept [Ælfric's authorship] in passing'.³⁶⁶ Reflecting on all these studies, finally, Hill describes Porter's arguments as 'not convincing', positing rather that the *Excerptiones* were a continental compilation – that is, 'most probably a Carolingian *compilatio/abbreviatio*, brought into England with the Benedictine Reform'.³⁶⁷

6.10. *Gregorii de pastoribus non recte gradientibus** (in Latin)

Overview: This extract from Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*,³⁶⁸ pointing for example to Leviticus 21.17–20's injunction that those with physical defects should not serve as priests, warns those with grave spiritual sins against aspiring to ecclesiastical office.

³⁶² *Excerptiones*, pp. 27–8.

³⁶³ *Excerptiones*, p. 29.

³⁶⁴ 'Ælfric's *Excerptiones*', pp. 203–4.

³⁶⁵ 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 16–17.

³⁶⁶ Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 38, citing Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 253 n. 10, 554 n. 9, and 253 for his acknowledgement of Law.

³⁶⁷ Hill, 'Life and Works', pp. 36–7 and 48; see also her 'Ælfric's Grammatical Triad', p. 297.

³⁶⁸ *Regula pastoralis* I.xi [PL 77.23D–26C], omitting the first and last sentences (Reynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 68).

Date: Perhaps between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
 MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 18r–20r
 Edition: None.
 Notes: Raynes notes that the extract ‘does not seem to have been translated by Ælfric in any of his works, but it accords with his known interest in the life and work of priests, which is fully displayed in his pastoral letters’.³⁶⁹ On the extract’s relationship to Y4’s Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

6.11. *De his qui auguria adtendunt**³⁷⁰ (in Latin)

Overview: Caesarius here warns against heeding omens or consulting sooth-sayers, notes that the devil cannot harm people unless God allows him to test or punish them, and enjoins believers to shun pagan practice and fear God.
 Date: In or before *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998
 MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 29r–31r
 Edition: None.
 Notes: Caesarius of Arles’ *Sermo* 54,³⁷¹ once ascribed to Augustine,³⁷² is copied here; it provides one of the chief sources for Ælfric’s *De auguriis* (LS 16 [Skeat I.17]).³⁷³ On the text’s relationship to Y4’s Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

6.12. *Hoc est Dei et sancti Cuthberti miraculum** (in Latin)

Overview: This copy of chapter 33 of the anonymous *Historia de S. Cuthberto* recounts how King Guthred overcame an army of Scots who had attacked the monastery of Lindisfarne: in accordance with the word of Cuthbert, who appeared to Guthred before the battle, the ground opened and swallowed the Scots up.
 Date: Perhaps between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998; or (more specifically) between [A] *ca* 987 and [B] January x June 992

³⁶⁹ ‘Boulogne-sur-Mer 63’, p. 68. Godden notes two faint parallels to the *Regula* at CH II.5.50–61 and II.36.131–7, but observes that ‘the influence could have been from the Old English version’ (*Commentary*, p. liv; see also pp. 382–3 and 641; as well as ‘Records for Source Title Reg.past’).

³⁷⁰ The full heading in Y4 being *In kalendis Ianuarii. Sermo Augustini. De his qui auguria adtendunt.*

³⁷¹ *Sancti Caesaris episcopi*, vol. I, pp. 225–30; cited as *Sermo* 51 in Gneuss and Lapidge §800 (*Manuscripts*, p. 570).

³⁷² Text printed by Migne as Pseudo-Augustine *Sermo* 278 [PL 39.2268–71]; see also the header in Y4 above.

³⁷³ Meaney, ‘Sources’, p. 477.

- MS: Y25 [not in Ker], fols 53v–54r
- Edition: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 33, see South, *Historia*, pp. 68–70; previously edited by Arnold, *Symeonis monachi opera*, vol. I, pp. 213–14.
- Translation: South, *Historia*, pp. 69–71.
- Notes: While this anonymous *Historia* does not appear to have served as a source for later Ælfric writings, it concerns a figure whom Ælfric would treat in CH II.10 – a homily for which Ælfric prepared by gathering at least three other Lives, including Bede’s prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, a copy of which also survives in Y25 [on which collection, see 3.2.5 above].³⁷⁴

6.13. *In illo*³⁷⁵ *tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum** (in Latin)

- Overview: This excerpt from Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.7 concerning Birinus discusses his evangelistic work among the West Saxons, the conversion of their king Cynegisl, King Oswald’s baptismal sponsorship of Cynegisl, the kings’ gift to Birinus of Dorchester as his episcopal see, and Birinus’ eventual death and translation.
- Date: Perhaps between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998; or (more specifically) between [A] *ca* 987 and [B] January x June 992
- MS: Y25 [not in Ker], fol. 70rv
- Edition: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 3.7, see now Lapidge *et al.*, *Histoire*, vol. II, pp. 44–6; formerly edited as Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 232.
- Translation: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 3.7, see Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 233.
- Notes: This selection of *Historia* 3.7.1–2 (lines 1–15) omits Bede’s subsequent discussion of King Cynegisl’s son Cenwealh: his repudiation of Christianity, consequent suffering, repentance, and variable treatment of bishops. Ælfric appears to have incorporated this account of Birinus from the *Historia* for his Life of Oswald (LS 24 [Skeat II.26]);³⁷⁶ see also *Regnauit igitur Osuald Christianissimus* [6.20]. On Y25 as arguably a witness to one of Ælfric’s Commonplace Books, see 3.2.5 above.

³⁷⁴ Godden, *Commentary*, p. 415 and n. 6.

³⁷⁵ Title taken from Y25, fol. 70r; *eo* both in Lapidge, *Historia*, vol. II, p. 44, and in Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 232.

³⁷⁶ See Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 557; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; ‘Records for Source Title Hist.ecccl’; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. 125.

6.14. *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis** (in Latin)

- Overview: Drawing, like *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* [6.4 above], on Amalarius of Metz' *Liber officialis*, the *Institutio* sets forth guidelines for liturgical practice related to such occasions as Advent, Christmas Eve, Feast of the Holy Innocents, Epiphany, Candlemas, Septuagesima, Quadragesima, Palm Sunday, Holy Week (including the Lord's Supper and Tenebrae), the Major Rogation, and Pentecost.³⁷⁷
- Date: Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1005
- MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 229–36;³⁷⁸ and Y29 [not in Ker], fols 173r–176v
- Edition: Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 267–9; formerly Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 241–3.³⁷⁹
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.
- Notes: On the authorship of the *Institutio*, see Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 241–55. Jones does not include the *Institutio* in his 1998 provisional chronology of Ælfric's Latin works,³⁸⁰ but in his edition of the text, published that same year, he concludes: 'The evidence here gleaned hardly encourages positive claims for Ælfric's "authorship"' – if indeed, as Hill notes, that is the right word for compilations of this kind³⁸¹ – 'but a connection of some kind no longer seems so remote'.³⁸² On *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*, associated with the *Institutio* by a shared manuscript presence in X^a and Y29 and a common reliance on the *Regularis concordia* and Amalarius' *Liber officialis*,³⁸³ see 6.5 above.

³⁷⁷ See Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 234–5, 237, 241, 250–3, and 257–71.

³⁷⁸ Budny's 1997 *Catalogue* describes this section as a 'series of texts on the offices of the liturgical year' on pp. 229–38 of X^a (vol. I, p. 542). Jones' edition of the *Institutio*, however, published the following year, ends towards the bottom of p. 236; edits the next entry on pp. 236–7 (*Qualiter quattuor tempora agantur*) as the final section of *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* [6.5 above]; and notes that p. 238 begins acephalously with a penitential text whose beginning may already have been lost in X^a's exemplar ('Two Composite Texts', pp. 269, 262, and 236–7).

³⁷⁹ §§17–31 in Fehr, a 'very incomplete transcription' from X^a ('Two Composite Texts', p. 235 n. 7), correspond with Jones §§1–16.

³⁸⁰ 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 18.

³⁸¹ 'Life and Works', pp. 39–40.

³⁸² 'Two Composite Texts', p. 254.

³⁸³ See Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 234, 237, and 241.

6.15. *De doctrina et exemplis praepositorum*^{384*} (in Latin)

Overview: Drawing on a variety of New and Old Testament passages, this text (ultimately derived from Isidore) underscores the need for preachers to be righteous in their lives as well as their doctrine, since sickness in the head infects the whole body.

Date: Perhaps between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991

MS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 183–5

Edition: None.

Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.

Notes: *De doctrina* consists of selections from the *Institutio canonicorum Aquisgranensis* (also known as Pseudo-Amalarius' *Regula canonicorum*) I.20 and 29–30,³⁸⁵ which reproduce Isidore's *Sententiae* III.36–8,³⁸⁶ The *Institutio* arguably served as an immediate source for *De septem gradibus* [6.21 below] and may have formed part of one of Ælfric's Commonplace Books, remnants of which may primarily survive in X^a, a witness to Wulfstan's Handbook. Additional items in this manuscript worthy of further consideration in this regard include:

1. *Decalogus Moysi* [6.3],
2. *De doctrina et exemplis praepositorum* [6.15],
3. *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* [6.5],
4. *Expositio officii* [7.6],
5. *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis* [6.14],
6. *Isidori de sacerdotibus* [6.16],
7. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum* [6.17],
8. *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur* [6.18], and
9. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis* [6.21]

The *Decalogus Moysi* [1], *Isidori de sacerdotibus* [6], and *De septem gradibus* [9] are otherwise associated with the Commonplace tradition through Y4; see 1.6.1.1.2 above. *De doctrina* [2] may comprise extracts from what was arguably an immediate source for *De septem gradibus*. *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* [3], the *Expositio* [4], and the *Institutio beati Amalarii* [5] are all evocative of Ælfric in their use of sources and compositional style. *De officiis atque orationibus* [7] was extracted from Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum*, also arguably an immediate source for *De septem*

³⁸⁴ Title taken from X^a p. 183 and the header to *Institutio* I.20 (MGH *Concilia* II.1, p. 343 [PL 105. 853C]), as well as the header to Isidore's *Sententiae* III.36 [PL 83.707B], which the *Institutio* here reproduces.

³⁸⁵ Ed. MGH *Concilia* II.1, pp. 343 and 352 [PL 105. 853C–854A and 863D–864D].

³⁸⁶ PL 83.707B–709C.

gradibus. Finally, the *Ordo librorum* [8] arguably served as a source for Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*. For a full treatment of the above, as well as X^a's relationship to MSS PRS, Y4, and Y25, see Kleist, 'Commonplace Book'.

6.16. *Isidori de sacerdotibus* (in Latin)

Overview: A nearly verbatim copy of a large section of chapter 9 of the 816 Council of Aachen, which in turn reproduces material from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II.5.1–18³⁸⁷ on the role of priests: the precedent of Melchizedek, the order of Aaron, the High Priesthood of Christ, the pontificate of Peter, the blessing of ordination, and the requirements for episcopal candidates.

Date: Between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991 or ca 1005

MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 204–5;
Y4 [not in Ker], fols 20r–22r;
Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 185–8; and
Y9 [Ker §99], fols 18r–20r and 80r–82v [the latter comprising a duplicate copy drawn from a different exemplar³⁸⁸]

Edition: Digital edition by Elliot and Major ('Ecclesiastical Orders', pp. 1–5).

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS X^a and Y6 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nh277tk2537>.

Notes: *Isidori de sacerdotibus*, *De septem gradibus aeclesiasticis* [6.21 below], and *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis* [6.2 above] follow each other sequentially in Y4, Y6, and Y9; in X^a, the first thirty lines of *De sacerdotibus* replace the conclusion of *De septem gradibus*,³⁸⁹ while the next ten lines of *De sacerdotibus* appear thereafter as a separate entry.³⁹⁰ Raynes and Cross loosely group the three texts together as 'Excerpts',³⁹¹ while Elliot and Major treat the whole as a work titled 'On the Ecclesiastical Orders', of which *De sacerdotibus* forms the first part (lines 1–105).

Clemons finds it 'reasonable to think' that Ælfric compiled this extract from Isidore ('Benedictine Office', pp. 281; see also 275); it is also attributed hesitantly to Ælfric by Jones, who nonetheless notes that 'Ælfric may have chosen this portion of the Aachen decrees to be copied out for his reference, but obviously in no other sense

³⁸⁷ PL 83.780D–786B; see Cross, *Copenhagen Wulfstan Collection*, p. 15.

³⁸⁸ Cross, 'Contents', p. 23.

³⁸⁹ That is, everything but the first two sentences of *De septem gradibus*' final section, *De prespiteris*.

³⁹⁰ Lines as delineated by Elliot and Major, 'Ecclesiastical Orders', pp. 1–2.

³⁹¹ Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 68–9; and Cross, 'Contents', pp. 15–16. See also Cross and Tunberg, 'Introduction'.

may we speak of him as the “compiler” of these passages’.³⁹² Cross, however, adding to Clemoes’ arguments, definitively sees in *De sacerdotibus*, *De septem gradibus*, and *Excerpta de episcopis* Ælfric’s characteristic engagement with his sources. He concludes: ‘All the evidence of methods of composition and manuscript association suggests that Ælfric prepared [these three works]’.³⁹³ On the text’s relationship to Ælfric’s Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 and 6.15 above.

6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum*^{394*} (in Latin)

- Overview: This extract from Hrabanus Maurus ‘On the Duties and Prayers of the Canonical Hours’ discusses the biblical basis and purpose of the Divine Office, with specific exposition of Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and (in the longer form, taken from Hrabanus Maurus’ *De institutione clericorum* II.8–10) Compline, Nocturns, and prayers offered by believers at other times.³⁹⁵
- Date: Perhaps between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
- MSS: T3 [Ker §338.11], fols 42r–55v [Benedictine Office³⁹⁶];
X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 205–12;³⁹⁷
Y5 [Ker §49B.49], pp. 112–14 [Benedictine Office³⁹⁸];
Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 194–7 [shorter version];³⁹⁹
Y7 [not in Ker], pp. 159r–65r;⁴⁰⁰ and
Y22 [not in Ker], fols 37r–39r⁴⁰¹
- Edition: None.

³⁹² ‘Medieval Latin Author’, pp. 15; see also pp. 14, 16, and 18.

³⁹³ ‘Contents’, p. 16.

³⁹⁴ Title taken from the header to this section in Hrabanus’ *De institutione clericorum* II.1 (Zimpel, *De institutione*, p. 344); called *De officiis et* [not *atque*] *orationibus canonicarum horarum* in PL 107.325B and by Jost, ‘Benedictine Office’, p. 76.

³⁹⁵ As Cross states, ‘Hrabanus ... is not describing ritual for the hours but giving reasons for the different prayers at the appropriate hours’ (*Pembroke College*, p. 55).

³⁹⁶ See, for example, Ure, *Benedictine Office*, pp. 3–9.

³⁹⁷ Zimpel notes that the opening line of II.1 [*Officium ergo missae ... mysteria consecrare*] also appears on p. 163; cf. Y6 and Y22 below (*De institutione*, p. 168).

³⁹⁸ Prose version of the Old English ‘Benedictine Office’, incorporating excerpts from *De institutione* II.1–10 (Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 484; and Gneuss and Lapidge §65.5 (*Manuscripts*, p. 83).

³⁹⁹ Zimpel notes that the opening line of II.1 [*Officium ergo missae ... mysteria consecrare*] also appears on p. 183; cf. X^a above and Y22 below (*De institutione*, p. 169).

⁴⁰⁰ Cross notes that rather than reproducing Hrabanus verbatim, Y7 has ‘a large insertion’ [*Et ideo sacerdotes procurant ... dixisse sufficiat* (fols 159r, line 25–159v, line 12)] ‘on the necessities for a priest at communion’ (*Pembroke College*, p. 41; see also p. 55; Zimpel, *De institutione*, p. 170; and in general James, *Pembroke College*, p. 29 [§75]).

⁴⁰¹ Zimpel notes that the opening line of II.1 [*Officium ergo missae ... mysteria consecrare*] also appears on fol. 43v; cf. X^a and Y6 above (*De institutione*, p. 197).

Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS X^a, Y5, and Y6 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cr485km1781>, and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nh277tk2537>.

Notes: *De officiis atque orationibus* appears in at least two forms: the longer one, preserved in X^a pp. 205–12, comprises nearly the whole of Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum* II.1–10,⁴⁰² while the shorter version, found in Y6, pp. 194–7, comprises nearly all of *De institutione* II.1–7.⁴⁰³ Wulfstan is believed to have produced a vernacular translation of *De officiis* which was then incorporated into the bilingual 'Benedictine Office';⁴⁰⁴ scholars have debated, however, the precise role Wulfstan and Ælfric played in producing *De officiis* itself. Fehr argued that Ælfric extracted the longer form, Wulfstan truncated it to produce the shorter version and that someone (perhaps Wulfstan himself) used the shorter version to compose the vernacular material in the Benedictine Office.⁴⁰⁵ Ure noted that the Office must derive from the longer form, since it includes the three sections of *De institutione* that were cut from the shorter version (II.8–10). He suggested, however, that Ælfric not only produced the longer extract, but made a translation (now lost) which he sent to Wulfstan (perhaps along with the shorter version?), in keeping with Ælfric's 'habit of supplying Wulfstan with prepared *catenae* for his use'.⁴⁰⁶ Wulfstan then revised and augmented Ælfric's translation using the shorter version, thus creating the material later incorporated into the Office.⁴⁰⁷ Jost, reviewing Ure's arguments, was not so sure: while he felt that 'some outside influence seems to have been at work' in Wulfstan's contributions to the Office, Ure's evidence was 'not sufficient to establish the existence of an Ælfric translation as an intermediary between the Latin extract and the Office'.⁴⁰⁸ Clemons, furthermore, challenged Ure's contention that Ælfric drew on the longer form in his *First Latin* and *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* – a connection that Ure viewed as 'a strong piece of evidence in favour of Ælfric's authorship' of the lost translation. 'There is no evidence', Clemons concluded, 'that Ælfric used [Hrabanus' *De institutione*] at all when writing this passage in either of the letters, let alone that he used

⁴⁰² The longer form omits the first couple of sentences of II.1 to begin with *Oratio enim petitio* (Zimpel, *De institutione*, pp. 344–52 [PL 107.325C–329C]).

⁴⁰³ This shorter version begins at the same place, but ends just short of the close of II.7 [*Oratio enim petitio ... laudibus pariter exultantes*] (Zimpel, *De institutione*, pp. 344–9 [PL 107.325C–328A]).

⁴⁰⁴ 'Liturgical Miscellany', p. 123; Clemons, 'Benedictine Office', p. 265.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Benediktiner-Offizium', especially at pp. 344–5.

⁴⁰⁶ Ure, *Benedictine Office*, p. 43, following Whitelock, 'Homilist and Statesman', p. 34.

⁴⁰⁷ *Benedictine Office*, pp. 42–3; see also pp. 15–16 and 25–46.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Benedictine Office', p. 77.

the particular extract represented in [X^a].⁴⁰⁹ Even without such a connection, however, and regardless of whether Ælfric himself translated *De officiis*, the possibility of Ælfric's responsibility for one or both versions of the extract remains. On the text's relationship to X^a's Commonplace material, see 6.15 above.

6.18. *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur*^{410*} (in Latin)

- Overview: A general schedule of biblical and patristic readings for the liturgical year.
- Date: Perhaps between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
- MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 212–13;
Y28 [not in Ker], fols 191v–192v; and
Y29 [not in Ker], fol. 173r
- Edition: Of this version, none. Andrieu edits the full *Ordo romanus* XIII A from sixteen manuscripts, including Y29 [misprinted as 1372], though not X^a.⁴¹¹
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.
- Notes: The *Ordo librorum* comprises §§1–20 of *Ordo romanus* XIII A, which Gatch describes as 'the source of the almost universal system of scripture reading for the Night Office'.⁴¹² Both texts are linked to Ælfric, since the *Ordo romanus* 'provided the framework of Ælfric's *ordo* of readings for the Night Office' in the last part of Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* [4.2.1 above],⁴¹³ a text which draws on the *Regularis concordia* and Amalarius' *Liber officialis* along with *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* and the *Institutio beati Amalarii* [6.5 and 6.14 above], texts found immediately or close after it in Y29 as well as X^a. On the extract's relationship to X^a's Commonplace material, see 6.15 above.

6.19. *De pascha** (in Latin)

- Overview: This paean of praise celebrates Christ's harrowing of hell (either spiritually or literally) and deliverance of sinners through his death and resurrection.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Benedictine Office', p. 268.

⁴¹⁰ Or *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur in circulo anni ad legendum* in full: title taken from X^a p. 212; cf. Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, vol. II, p. 481.

⁴¹¹ Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, vol. II, pp. 469–88 [§§1–20, found here, edited on pp. 481–8]; see Cross, 'Newly-Identified Manuscript', pp. 64–5, and Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', p. 236 n. 12.

⁴¹² 'Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', p. 352. See also Hall, 'Liturgical Notes'.

⁴¹³ Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', p. 242.

- Date: Perhaps between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
- MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 32r–33v
- Edition: Of this version, none.
- Notes: Pseudo-Eusebius Gallicanus' *Sermo* 12 for Easter confusingly appears in four different forms in Migne, each attributed to a different author: Jerome [PL 30.215D–220A], Augustine [PL 47.1153C–1155A], Faustus of Riez [PL 58.889A–890B], and Caesarius of Arles [PL 67.1041D–1043C].⁴¹⁴ Raynes suggests that 'Ælfric seems to have made no use of it.'⁴¹⁵ The homily – a text on which, to our knowledge, little work has been done – is the only item in Y4 for which some connection to Ælfric has not hitherto been asserted. On *De pascha*'s relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

6.20. *Regnauit igitur*⁴¹⁶ *Oswald Christianissimus** (in Latin)

- Overview: This copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.9–10 regarding Oswald, king and martyr, briefly discusses the saint's death and (at more length) the miracles that thereafter took place where he was killed.
- Date: Perhaps between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 998; or (more specifically) between [A] *ca* 987 and [B] January x June 992
- MS: Y25 [not in Ker], fols 68v–70r
- Edition: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 3.9–10, see now Lapidge *et al.*, *Histoire*, vol. II, pp. 58–64; formerly edited as Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, pp. 240–4.
- Translation: Of this version, none. For *Historia* 3.9–10, see Colgrave and Mynors, *Historia*, pp. 241–5.
- Notes: As with other selections in Y25 from Bede's *Historia*, Lapidge describes the entry as 'excerpts from Bede';⁴¹⁷ apart from omitting 3.9.1.2–8 (*adnumerato ... adnotari*), however – an aside referencing an episode from 3.1 not directly relevant to the subsequent narrative – the text reproduces Bede's chapters in full. Ælfric appears to have drawn on this part of the *Historia* for his Life of Oswald (LS 24 [Skeat II.26]);⁴¹⁸ see also *In illo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum* [6.13].

⁴¹⁴ See Gneuss and Lapidge §800 (*Manuscripts*, p. 570), and Dekkers §966 (*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, p. 313).

⁴¹⁵ 'Boulogne-sur-Mer', p. 72.

⁴¹⁶ *autem* both in Lapidge, *Historia*, vol. II, p. 58, and in Colgrave and Mynors, *History*, p. 240.

⁴¹⁷ *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 555.

⁴¹⁸ See Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 557; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; 'Records for Source Title Hist.eccl'; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. 125.

On Y25 as arguably a witness to one of Ælfric's Commonplace Books, see 3.2.5 above.

6.21. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis (in Latin)*

- Overview: A discussion of the names and responsibilities of the various clerical orders.
- Date: Between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991 or *ca* 1005
- MSS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 201–4;
Y4 [not in Ker], fols 22r–23r;
Y6 [Ker §53], pp. 188–90; and
Y9 [Ker §99], fols 20r–21r and 82v [the latter comprising a duplicate copy of the first two sections of *De septem gradibus*, drawn from a different exemplar⁴¹⁹]
- Edition: Digital edition by Elliot and Major ('Ecclesiastical Orders', pp. 5–7); partially edited by Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, Appendix 5, pp. 256–8.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS X^a and Y6 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nh277tk2537>.
- Notes: *De septem gradibus* follows *Isidori de sacerdotibus* [6.16 above] and precedes *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis* [6.2 above] in Y4, Y6, and Y9; in X^a, the first thirty lines of *De sacerdotibus* replace the conclusion of *De septem gradibus*,⁴²⁰ while the next ten lines of *De sacerdotibus* appear thereafter as a separate entry.⁴²¹ Raynes and Cross loosely group the three texts together as 'Excerpts',⁴²² while Elliot and Major treat the whole as a work titled 'On the Ecclesiastical Orders', of which *De septem gradibus* forms the second part (lines 107–64).
- Clemons asserts that the work is 'probably' by Ælfric,⁴²³ while Jones states that the compiler of the text – which 'looks very much like a set of jottings compiled for reference' – 'need not have been Ælfric, but the methods and skills here displayed are consistent with our understanding of his working habits'.⁴²⁴ Cross, however, adding to Clemons' arguments, definitively sees in *De sacerdotibus*,

⁴¹⁹ Cross, 'Contents', p. 23.

⁴²⁰ That is, everything but the first two sentences of *De septem gradibus*' final section, *De prespiteris*.

⁴²¹ Lines as delineated by Elliot and Major, 'Ecclesiastical Orders', pp. 1–2.

⁴²² Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 68–9; and Cross, 'Contents', pp. 15–16. See also Cross and Tunberg, 'Introduction'.

⁴²³ 'Benedictine Office', pp. 273–5, at p. 275 and p. 281; and 'Supplement', p. cxlvii, referencing Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 8 n. b; see also Raynes, 'Boulogne-Sur-Mer 63', p. 69.

⁴²⁴ 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 15.

De septem gradibus, and *Excerpta de episcopis* Ælfric's characteristic engagement with his sources. He concludes: 'All the evidence of methods of composition and manuscript association suggests that Ælfric prepared [these three works].'⁴²⁵

Raynes states that Ælfric uses *De septem gradibus* in his *Letter for Wulfsige* §§29–45 [4.1.1 below],⁴²⁶ *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* §§115–27 [4.1.3 below],⁴²⁷ and *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* §§99–114 [4.1.5 below].^{428,429} On the text's relationship to Ælfric's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 and 6.15 above.

⁴²⁵ 'Contents', p. 16.

⁴²⁶ Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 8–11.

⁴²⁷ Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 49–50.

⁴²⁸ Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 106–11.

⁴²⁹ Raynes, 'Boulogne-Sur-Mer 63', p. 69 and notes 21–2.

7. Miscellanea⁴³⁰

For the *Ammonitio* (in Latin), *De Sancta Maria*, *Excusatio dictantis*, and *Oratio*, all of which Clemoes and Pope include in this category, see 1.2 above.

7.1. [B.1.9.8 and B.3.4.28] *Be ane munuccilde*^{*431}

Overview: This brief text tells the story of a boy raised in a monastery whose mother takes joy hearing him sing; when the boy dies, the mother is comforted by hearing him continue to sing in heaven.

Date: ca 998 x 1002

MS: T1 [Ker §331.24], fols 80v–81r

Edition: Rudolf, 'Source and Textual Identity', p. 621; previously Napier 31 (*Wulfstan*, pp. 152–3) and McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', pp. 129–30.

Notes: Ælfric's authorship of this work, titled *Be ane munuccilde* by a later hand in MS T1, was strongly suspected by McIntosh, who re-prints Napier lines 7–14a as rhythmical prose.⁴³² Jost called it a 'echtes Bruchstück' ('genuine fragment') of an unknown work by Ælfric,⁴³³ and Clemoes likewise identified it as a 'piece by Ælfric' – though by calling it 'presumably an extract from an otherwise lost writing', he left open the possibility that someone other than Ælfric may be responsible for its form in T1.⁴³⁴ As Rudolf observes, moreover, 'some doubts seem to have remained among the planners of the Dictionary of Old English, because [*Be ane munuccilde*] received two Cameron numbers: B.1.9.8, marking it as a work of Aelfric, and B.3.4.28, placing it among the anonymous prose works'.⁴³⁵ Arguing that Ælfric's 'direct authorship ... can be doubted on stylistic grounds', Rudolf concludes that 'the state of Napier XXXI as preserved in [T1] appears to represent a reworking of an originally Ælfrician version'.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁰ This category include items listed by Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 144–5, but moves the *Decalogus Moysi* [6.3] and *De septem gradibus* [6.21] to 'Epitomes and Abridgements' (following Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 11–12 and 15–16); adds *De auaritia* [7.2], *Duo reges fuerunt* [7.4], *De ebrietate cauenda* [7.5], *De sabbato* [7.14], and *De seruitio carnis* [7.15]; and lists all titles in alphabetical order (discounting *Be, De, Se, and The*).

⁴³¹ Otherwise known as the *Exemplum* (see, e.g., Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 145).

⁴³² He states that *Be ane munuccilde* 'seems to me to be characteristic of Ælfric in rhythm, style, and vocabulary ... But nothing final can be said about the authorship' ('Wulfstan's Prose', p. 130). McIntosh immediately goes on to posit another text as Ælfric's, a paraphrase of two passages from Daniel printed in MS G, but Pope identifies the text as an extract from *De falsis diis* (SH II.21; see McIntosh, 'Wulfstan's Prose', p. 130; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 668).

⁴³³ *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 211.

⁴³⁴ *First Series*, p. 43.

⁴³⁵ 'Source and Textual Identity', p. 609.

⁴³⁶ 'Source and Textual Identity', pp. 611 and 613; see also Treharne, 'Readers of Ælfric', p. 404.

7.2. [B.3.4.4] *De auaritia*

Overview: In this text, affirming that worldly goods are not evil in and of themselves, Ælfric nonetheless castigates those who accumulate fine things in their homes but are empty of virtue in their souls.

Date: ca 1009 – ca 1010

MSS: B [Ker §310.82], fol. 166v (independent extract);
R1 [Ker §41A.17], pp. 141–2 (independent extract); and
f^b [Ker §74.2], fols vi^r/7–vi^v/1 [embedded in a copy of *CH* II.19 on fols i^v–vi^v]

Edition: Belfour 13 (*Twelfth-Century Homilies*, p. 134).

Digital Images: The whole of MS R1 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.

Translation: Belfour, *Twelfth-Century Homilies*, p. 135.

Notes: This extract of a memorable passage on greed from *CH* II.26.108 (*Seo grædignys*) – 133 (*unðances*), augmented by two introductory sentences defining *auarus* and *auaritia*, appears as an independent piece in MSS B and R1. Pope suggests that its two introductory sentences – and thus, perhaps, the compilation as a whole – ‘may or may not be by Ælfric’.⁴³⁷ Clemoes does not ascribe the sentences to Ælfric,⁴³⁸ while Godden describes the text in neutral terms (‘a passage on avarice, excerpted from [*CH* II.26]’).⁴³⁹ Clayton, however, in keeping with her view of Ælfric’s responsibility for the R-type collection, suggests that texts like *De auaritia* in R are ‘probably by Ælfric’.⁴⁴⁰ see 2.1.3 above.

The bulk of *De auaritia*, *CH* II.26.110–33, also appears with an introductory sentence in f^b’s version of *CH* II.19, replacing lines 271–84 therein. Pope doubts that Ælfric was the one who incorporated the passage here – though he does assign to Ælfric another passage inserted into that homily at line 238 (after *swicolan and leasan*), which he prints as *SH* II.24.⁴⁴¹ Clemoes suggests that the unique sentence that introduces the *De auaritia* extract in *CH* II.19 was ‘probably not by Ælfric’,⁴⁴² while Godden views the sentence as ‘entirely in Ælfric’s manner’, arguing strongly that Ælfric was responsible for the extract’s interpolation.⁴⁴³

On the possible relationship of *De auaritia* to Ælfric’s

⁴³⁷ *Homilies*, p. 16; see also p. 67.

⁴³⁸ *First Series*, pp. 38–9.

⁴³⁹ *Second Series*, p. lxxviii; see also p. xxxviii.

⁴⁴⁰ *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 11.

⁴⁴¹ See *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 89–90, and vol. II, p. 751; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. 365.

⁴⁴² *First Series*, p. 53.

⁴⁴³ *Second Series*, pp. 363 and lxxiv.

Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above. Not collated by Belfour: R1 and f^b.

7.3. [B.1.6.6 and B.3.4.52] *De cogitatione*

- Overview: Noting that the devil can send evil thoughts into men's minds, Ælfric affirms that men have the power to reject such thoughts and warns that they will be held accountable for their mental purity.
- Date: ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: H [Ker §220.66], fols 250r–254v [interpolated into *SH* I.6; imperfect at edges of leaves];
P1 [Ker §332.12], fol. 59r [independent piece];
S [Ker §333.25], pp. 380–1 [independent piece]
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 18; previously Napier, 'Ein altenglisches leben', p. 155; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 325, lines 284–91 and 330 n. 284.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS H is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V.
- Notes: This brief treatise on temptation to evil thoughts and the future recompense for men's deeds was edited by Napier in the nineteenth century. Pope re-edits the text, but in sections: he prints Napier lines 30–6 from H (not included by Napier), collating variants from P1 and S, and prints Napier lines 36–51 from S (Napier's base text) in a footnote. In P1 and S, *De cogitatione* appears independently in its own right, while in H the first eight lines provide the conclusion to the interpolation (*SH* I.6.284–91) in the second version of *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* [1.6.1.1.4 above].
Unlike *De infantibus* [7.9 below], which comprises Napier lines 1–29 and which precedes *De cogitatione* in S, Clemoes attributes *De cogitatione* to Ælfric.⁴⁴⁴ On the possible relationship of *De cogitatione* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

7.4. *Duo reges fuerunt** (in Latin)

- Overview: The text seeks to clarify a variety of disparate matters (with no transition between them) – the distinction between two kings ostensibly called Nebuchadnezzar during the Babylonian exile, the difference between popes Gregory I and II, the date of Augustine of Canterbury's mission to the English, the translation of the Greek

⁴⁴⁴ 'Chronology', pp. 37, 54, and 56; with tacit acceptance of Ælfric's authorship also in *First Series*, pp. 34 and 41 (MSS P1 and S).

moscheumata (see LXX Wisdom 4.3⁴⁴⁵), the effect on humans of various types of demons, and customs of eastern peoples – and concludes with the Aaronic Blessing (Numbers 6.24–6).

- Date: In or before *ca* 998 x 1002
- MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fol. 25rv
- Edition: Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 69–70.
- Notes: Ælfric reproduces the point about the two Nebuchadnezzars – which appears neither in the books of Judith or 2 Chronicles 36 – at the beginning of his homily *Judith* [3.1.2 above]. No other instances of borrowing have been cited between *Duo reges* and Ælfric's writings,⁴⁴⁶ but Jones suggests that the work might be counted among Ælfric's Latin notes.⁴⁴⁷ On the text's relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

7.5. *De ebrietate cauenda** (in Latin)

- Overview: Drawing on examples from the Bible and Church Fathers, the text warns against drunkenness and exhorts believers to Christlike sobriety.
- Date: Perhaps between [A] *ca* 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
- MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fols 33v–34r
- Edition: Partial edition (of final paragraph) in Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 72.
- Notes: While *De ebrietate* has not been posited as a direct source for an Ælfrician work, Raynes notes that 'its theme is in accordance with his views'.⁴⁴⁸ Warnings against drinking to excess appear for example at the end of his *Letter to Brother Edward* [4.3.1 above]⁴⁴⁹ and *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2 above].⁴⁵⁰ This item in Y4 is written by another scribe, after which the main hand returns to enter *De seruitio carnis* [7.15]. On the text's relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

⁴⁴⁵ Reference noted by Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 17.

⁴⁴⁶ Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', pp. 70–1.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 18.

⁴⁴⁸ 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 72.

⁴⁴⁹ Clayton, 'Edition', p. 282.

⁴⁵⁰ Lines 924–33 (Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 229–30).

7.6. *Expositio officii** (in Latin)

- Overview: A 'mixture of liturgical exposition and prescription' in three parts, the *Expositio* offers basic literal and figurative explanations of aspects of the Mass, the Divine Office (apart from Compline, Nocturns, and perhaps Prime), and the liturgical calendar from Christmas through Quinquagesima Sunday.⁴⁵¹
- Date: Perhaps between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991
- MS: X^a [Ker §45A], pp. 143–51
- Edition: Jones, 'Liturgical Miscellany', pp. 130–9⁴⁵²
- Digital Images: The whole of MS X^a is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dm156pk7342>.
- Notes: While Jones suggests that the 'simplest hypothesis' is that the *Expositio* 'belongs to the same milieu as most of the other texts compiled in the "commonplace book" – namely, to the circle of Archbishop Wulfstan and his *familia*, whether at York or Worcester', he finds it 'notable' that *Expositio* material does not serve as a source for any of Wulfstan's works and that 'the intent to make a "liturgical catechism" does not seem to inform any of Wulfstan's extant writings' – unless, he says, one counts *De officiis atque orationibus* [6.17 above].⁴⁵³ Further consideration of the text's sources and compositional methods, however, raises the possibility of Ælfric's authorship: see Kleist, 'Commonplace Book'. On the work's relationship to X^a's possible Commonplace material, see 6.15 above.

7.7. *Gebedu on Englisc*⁴⁵⁴

- Overview: Ælfric here translates ten selections from the liturgy of the mass, comprising prayers for righteous deeds, faith, protection, wisdom, patience, love, deliverance from temptation, mercy, and blessing, with concluding praise.
- Date: 992, after January x June
- MS: K [Ker §15.94], fol. 262rv
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 21; previously Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 598–600.
- Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 599–601.

⁴⁵¹ Jones, 'Liturgical Miscellany', p. 103.

⁴⁵² Jones describes his work as a 'lightly edited transcription' ('Liturgical Miscellany', p. 128).

⁴⁵³ 'Liturgical Miscellany', pp. 105; see also pp. 121–3, 125, and 127–8.

⁴⁵⁴ Formerly called 'Bidding Prayers'.

Notes: On the liturgical origins of these prayers, see Bzdyl, 'Sources'.

7.8. [B.13.6.1] *Be gehadedum mannum*

Overview: Also known as the *Punishment of Priests and Deacons*, this vision of future torment for licentious clergy in Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* 23.1–5 precedes a discussion of the process for testing candidates for ordination. As the *Catholic Homilies* make clear, Ælfric views sexual purity as particularly important for deacons and priests given their responsibility for administering the Eucharist (cf. *CH* II.6.136–46).

Date: Perhaps between [A] 1002 and [B] 1008 x 1010

MS: T3 [Ker §338.8], fols 34r–35v

Edition: Jost, *Die 'Institutes of Polity'*, pp. 217–18.⁴⁵⁵

Translation: Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, pp. 196–7; previously Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, vol. II, pp. 335 and 337.

Notes: Various scholars agree that the first six sentences of Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*, chapter 23, preserve an otherwise-lost work by Ælfric.⁴⁵⁶ It is less certain, however, whether it was an anonymous compiler (as Jost suggests⁴⁵⁷) or Wulfstan himself (a position towards which Lionarons leans) who integrated Ælfric's material with his own to produce this unfinished text, which may be an incompletely revised homily.⁴⁵⁸ The work should not be confused with the other text called 'Be gehadedum mannum', this one entirely by Wulfstan, that precedes Ælfric's work in T3. Jost prints Wulfstan's text as *Institutes* 22.145–69a (following T3, fols 32r–34r, and Y5, pp. 40–2; see Jost, *Die 'Institutes of Polity'*, pp. 109–21) and 22.68–77 (Y5, pp. 89–90; *'Institutes'*, pp. 109–14). Thorpe's 1840 edition of the *Institutes*, however, enumerates the sections differently, counting Wulfstan's version as *Institutes* 23, not 22 (*Ancient Laws*, vol. II, pp. 334 and 336). Ker's *Catalogue*, which appears two years before Jost's edition and consequently cites Thorpe, thus uses 'Polity 23' to refer to Wulfstan's work, not Ælfric's (e.g., in Ker §49.18, 49.42.viii, and 49.42.xii). While Thorpe edits the *Institutes* using T3 as his base text, he apparently excludes items not also

⁴⁵⁵ Facsimiles of the portions of the *Institutes* present in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i are printed by Loyn; these do not, however, include the section composed by Ælfric.

⁴⁵⁶ Jost, *Institutes*, pp. 26–7; Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi*, p. 26 n. 2; Clemoes, 'Benedictine Office', pp. 281–2 n. 1; and Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, p. 39. To be clear, *Be gehadedum mannum* here serves as the name of the mostly lost work by Ælfric (*Institutes* 23.1–5), though it also is the title of the chapter of the *Institutes of Polity* in which it survives, as well as the section of the *Institutes* (chapter 22) that precedes it.

⁴⁵⁷ Jost, *Institutes*, p. 28.

⁴⁵⁸ Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, pp. 39–40; as against Wilcox, who views the work as non-homiletic ('Dissemination', p. 201 n. 15).

found in Y5 and Y14, manuscripts which he collates; as a result, Ælfric's work does not appear in Thorpe's edition. Ker thus refers to 'Polity 23' when describing '(XXII) Be gehadedum mannum' [§338.7], Wulfstan's text in T3, but gives no such reference for the section that begins with Ælfrician material, '(XXIII) Be gehadedum mannum' [§338.8]. For a discussion of Ælfric's authorship of the text, see Jost, *Die 'Institutes of Polity'*, pp. 26–7; Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi*, p. 26 n. 2; Clemoes, 'Benedictine Office', pp. 281–2 n. 1; and Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, pp. 39–40.

7.9. [B.1.6.7 and B.3.4.51] *De infantibus*

- Overview: This brief text instructs parents on ways to prevent their children's death, whether physical (through, for example, accidental suffocation) or spiritual (through lack of baptism).
- Date: Perhaps [A] towards the middle of the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x 1002 or [B] *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MSS: F [Ker §38.52], pp. 545–7;
P1 [Ker §332.14], fols 59v–60r;
R1 [Ker §41A.15], pp. 139–40; and
S [Ker §333.24], pp. 379–80
- Edition: Napier, 'Ein altenglisches leben', p. 154.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS F and R1 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ft757ht3699> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Notes: Pope states that 'while there is nothing very distinctive about its prose ... [the text] is well within the range of Ælfric's normal expression, the sentiment is characteristic of him, and its presence in wholly Ælfrician surroundings both [in MS P] and in MS R strongly suggests that he was the author'.⁴⁵⁹ Godden 'remain[s] doubtful' about Pope's conclusion,⁴⁶⁰ while Clemoes deems the text 'in my opinion, not by Ælfric'.⁴⁶¹ Clayton, in keeping with her view of Ælfric's responsibility for the R-type collection (see 2.1.3 above), notes the arguments above, but describes *De infantibus* as 'probably by Ælfric'.⁴⁶²
- Not collated by Napier: MSS F and R1. On the possible relationship of *De infantibus* to Ælfric's Commonplace materials, see 1.6.1.4.3 above.

⁴⁵⁹ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 56; see also p. 66.

⁴⁶⁰ *Second Series*, p. lxxvii n. 1.

⁴⁶¹ *First Series*, pp. 34, 39, and 41.

⁴⁶² *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 11 and n. 58.

†7.10. [B.12.3.1] *Se læssa creda*

- Overview: Ælfric's version of the Apostles' Creed.
- Date: 992, after January x June
- MSS: J1 [Ker §144.10], fol. 58rv;
K [Ker §15.94], fol. 261v; and
Y17 [Ker §197.c], fol. 159v⁴⁶³
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 22; previously Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 596.
- Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 597.

†7.11. [B.12.3.2] *Mæsse creda*

- Overview: Ælfric's version of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed.⁴⁶⁴
- Date: 992, after January x June
- MS: K [Ker §15.94], fols 261v–262r; and
T2 [Ker §331.85], fol. 247rv
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 23; previously Förster, 'Die altenglischen Bekenntnisformeln', pp. 168–9.
- Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 597.

7.12. [B.1.9.5 and B.15.1.38] *The Old English Ely Privilege* [*Gode ælmiltigum rixiende*]

- Overview: A translation of King Edgar's Latin charter for Ely (Sawyer §779).
- Date: Perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or *ca* 1004 x late 1006
- MSS: EP1–12 [not in Ker]
- Edition: Pope, 'Ely Privilege', pp. 88–92.
- Facsimile: Reproduced from EP6 in Sanders, *Facsimiles*, Ordnance Survey, vol. III, §32.⁴⁶⁵
- Translation: Robertson, *Charters*, pp. 98–103 [§48]; and Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, pp. 239–43.
- Notes: Ælfric's authorship of the text was proposed by McIntosh ('Wulfstan's Prose', pp. 128–9), questioned by Blake (*Liber Eliensis*, pp. 415 and v, where he notes Whitelock's influence; see also Pope, 'Ely Privilege', p. 86) and Clemoes ('Chronology', p. 62 n. 15), and

⁴⁶³ Ed. Logeman, 'Anglo-Saxonica Minora', pp. 100–1.

⁴⁶⁴ Or more precisely, the Latin version of the Constantinopolitan Creed; see notes to UK 23.

⁴⁶⁵ See Pope ('Ely Privilege', p. 87) and McIntosh ('Wulfstan's Prose', p. 128 n. 8).

then argued for cogently by Pope in his 1971 edition.⁴⁶⁶ Edgar's Latin charter concludes by ordering that it be translated into English – a task to which Ælfric may have been drawn given his esteem both for Edgar and for his former teacher Æthelwold, cited by Edgar as a guiding influence for the charter (lines 24–6). Pope suggests that as an earlier translation may have been produced when the charter was originally drafted,⁴⁶⁷ Ælfric may have intended his work not for inclusion with the charter but for independent use, perhaps in support of monastic rights in general. If so, it may have been the monks of Ely who, recognizing the superiority of Ælfric's work, substituted it for the original translation.⁴⁶⁸

While Pope describes his edition as 'adequate for the present purposes', editing from EP6 and collating 'a few readings of interest' from EP1–3, he does note that Sawyer lists eight other manuscripts (EP4–5 and 7–12) containing the Old English text, as well as twenty-five additional witnesses to the Latin original.⁴⁶⁹

†7.13. [B.12.4.1] *Pater noster*

Overview: Ælfric's version of the Lord's Prayer.

Date: 992, after January x June

MSS: J1 [Ker §144.10], fol. 58r;
K [Ker §15.94], fol. 261v; and
Y17 [Ker §197.b], fol. 159v⁴⁷⁰

Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 24; previously Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 596.

Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 597.

Notes: This example of the Prayer may be compared with that in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xii [Ker §214], fol. 184v, col. 2.⁴⁷¹ For the Old English note that precedes the *Pater noster* in MSS J1 and K [*Her is geleafa*], see 8.6 below.

⁴⁶⁶ Save for lines 76–8, which Pope see as a non-Ælfrician interpolation ('Ely Privilege', pp. 93–4). For earlier assertions by Pope regarding Ælfric's authorship, see *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 105–6 n. 2 and 145 n. 1.

⁴⁶⁷ Pope treats the Latin text, the earliest copy of which is in EP6, as a 'substantially accurate copy' of an original charter of 970. A number of other scholars, however, have considered it spurious ('Ely Privilege', p. 85). Kennedy suggests that the balance of opinion seems to favour the charter's authenticity ('Law and Litigation', p. 150), as does the scholarly survey in the Electronic Sawyer (<http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/779.html>, consulted 23 April 2015).

⁴⁶⁸ Pope, 'Ely Privilege', pp. 112–13.

⁴⁶⁹ 'Ely Privilege', p. 87; see also Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 247–8.

⁴⁷⁰ Ed. Logeman, 'Anglo-Saxonica Minora', p. 100.

⁴⁷¹ Written in a blank space at the end of the *Penitential* of Bartholomew of Exeter; see Morey, *Bartholomew*, p. 300.

7.14. *De sabbato* (in Latin)

- Overview: Chapter 42 of Recension B of *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* (formerly known as the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti*), a 'rather fluid and unstructured assembly of mainly ecclesiastical canons and rules for the laity' (Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', p. 283),⁴⁷² speaks about the Sabbath: God's rest after creation, Christ's ongoing work renewing that creation, the work of the Sixth Age and (by implication) coming rest of the Seventh, and the need to rest or cease from sin.
- Date: Between [1a] January 991 – June 992 or [1b] 1002 and [B] early in the period 1006 x 1014–16
- MS: Y14 [Ker §164.1], fols 132r–133r
- Edition: Cross and Hamer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, p. 127; printed also by Godden, *Commentary*, p. 457.
- Facsimiles and Digital Images: Loyn, *Wulfstan Manuscript*, plates for fols 132r–133r; complete set of images of MS Y14 available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Nero_A_I.
- Translation: Cross and Hamer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, p. 128.
- Notes: On Ælfric's authorship of *De sabbato*, see Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 457 and 161; and 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', pp. 282–3. Godden initially proposed that Ælfric may have compiled the *Excerptiones* as a whole,⁴⁷³ but Wormald⁴⁷⁴ and Cross and Hamer⁴⁷⁵ argued that the *Excerptiones* drew on Ælfric rather than the contrary. Godden found Cross and Hamer's case in particular to be persuasive,⁴⁷⁶ but still enjoins caution: 'until more work has been done on investigating the evident contradictions between the *Excerptiones* and Wulfstan's own works, especially the *Canons of Edgar* and the *Institutes of Polity*, I am reluctant to treat the *Excerptiones* as a collection for which Wulfstan could take full responsibility'.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷² The *Excerptiones* being distinct from the Pseudo-Egbert Confessional and the Pseudo-Egbert Penitential; see, for example, Hill, 'In natale plurimorum apostolorum', p. 121.

⁴⁷³ 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', p. 283.

⁴⁷⁴ 'Holiness of Society', p. 202.

⁴⁷⁵ 'Ælfric's Letters'.

⁴⁷⁶ *Commentary*, p. 457.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Wulfstan and Ælfric', p. 365.

7.15. *De seruitio carnis** (in Latin)

- Overview: The text offers an allegorical interpretation of Exodus 21.2–6: even as Hebrew slaves were to serve for six years and go free in the seventh, or choose to be slaves for life, so the six ages of the world give way to a seventh of eternal freedom or bondage.
- Date: In or (likely) before *ca* 1005–6; perhaps between [A] *ca* 964 × 970 and [B] January × June 991
- MS: Y4 [not in Ker], fol. 34rv
- Edition: None.
- Notes: The identification of the seventh age with an eternal state post-Judgement stands in contrast to Ælfric's teaching in his *Letter to Sigeweard* [4.3.2 above]⁴⁷⁸ and *De sex etatibus huius seculi* [2.1.7 above],⁴⁷⁹ where he interprets the seventh age as the state of expectant deceased saints and the eighth as eternal post-Judgement joy or woe. Ælfric surveys the six ages in *CH* II.4.84–293 when treating the six vessels of water that Christ turns into wine at Cana (John 2.1–11), but does not mention the seventh age or associate the six ages in general with sinful slavery: rather, Ælfric speaks of *deoflicum ðeowte* ('devilish servitude') specifically in terms of the Babylonian exile in the Fifth Age. If *De seruitio carnis* is by Ælfric, therefore, it reflects a topic to which he was drawn early in his career, but also a position which he refined by the time of the *Letter* (*ca* 1005–6) and *De sex etatibus* (*ca* 1006). On the text's relationship to Y4's Commonplace material, see 1.6.1.1.2 above.

7.16. *Uton biddan ealle**

- Overview: This prayer, seemingly written to follow a homily for the feast of one or more apostles, calls on them to intercede on believers' behalf for forgiveness and salvation.
- Date: January–June 990
- MSS: C [Ker §57.21], p. 94; and V1b [Ker §68.16]; p. 2
- Edition: None. Copy in C printed by Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 399 [apparatus to line 294] and Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 101; copy in V1b printed by Förster, 'Zur Liturgik', p. 49.

⁴⁷⁸ Lines 845–5 (Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 227–8).

⁴⁷⁹ Lines 178–91 (Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, p. 201).

Digital Images: The relevant pages of MSS C and V1b, along with the rest of these manuscripts, are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fr670md2824> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pz542dy6146>.

Notes: Clemoes includes the prayer as it appears in C (a witness to Phase α of First Series dissemination) as a variant ending to *CHI.26*, a piece on the passions of the apostles Peter and Paul. While later versions of the homily omit it, the prayer does appear as an independent item in V1b – that is, an ‘early addition, perhaps in the main hand’ on what was originally the blank opening recto of CCCC 419, subsequently reversed and transplanted by Parker to become CCCC 421, p. 2.⁴⁸⁰ The version in V1b has been modified so as to refer to a single apostle, though plural forms of articles and nouns have been added (perhaps by the same hand) above the lines – *apostole <uel [aposto]lan>*, for example – paralleling the forms in C and expanding the prayer’s potential use. As the extract still refers to the apostle[s] *þe we nu todæg wurþigeaþ* (‘whom we today honour’), however, one hesitates to attribute the independent form to Ælfric himself.

⁴⁸⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 117; see also p. 116, and Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 525.

8. Notes

The notes which Ælfric inserts into various versions of his works shed important light on his concerns as an author, the development of the text, and the nature of his audience. They include:⁴⁸¹

8.1. *CH I* [1.1 above]

8.1.1. *Old English Notes*

8.1.1.1. *CH I.12, at Line 79*

Overview: To the right of a passage (printed by Clemoes as Appendix A.1⁴⁸²) outlined for deletion in MS A, appears a note in Ælfric's hand providing his rationale for the deletion.⁴⁸³

Date: January–June 990

MS: A [Ker §257.12], fol. 64r [Phase α]

Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 65.

Digital Image: A complete set of images of A is available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_7_C_XII.

8.1.1.2. *CH I.14, Apparatus for Line 220*⁴⁸⁴

Overview: Here and at the corresponding point in *CH II* [8.2.1.1 below], Ælfric asserts that church custom forbids preaching on the three 'silent days' of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.⁴⁸⁵

Date: January–June 990 (probably) [MS B] or between January x June 991 and January x June 992 [MS H]

MSS: B [Ker §310.38], fol. 76v [Phase α];
H [Ker §220.19], fol. 88v [Phase γ¹, Ha-type];
K [Ker §15.16], fol. 47v [Phase γ², K-type, Archetype 4]; and
Q [Ker §43.15], p. 157 [Phase ε, Stage 4a]

Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 298 and 299.

Digital Image: The relevant leaves of MSS H and Q, along with the rest of these manuscripts, are available at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275>.

⁴⁸¹ See Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 37; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 145, and vol. II, p. 783 and n. 1.

⁴⁸² *First Series*, p. 531.

⁴⁸³ See, for example, Sisam, *Studies*, pp. 173–4, and Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 65 and 278.

⁴⁸⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all references to 'apparatus' in *CH I* and *II* refer to the second, lower apparatus in Clemoes' and Godden's editions.

⁴⁸⁵ See Hill, 'Ælfric's "Silent Days"'; and Godden, 'Commentary', pp. 118–19.

Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 219, lines 30–1.

8.1.2. *Latin Notes*

8.1.2.1. *CH I.pref., Apparatus for Line 134*

Overview: Directions (which Ælfric may or may not have intended to form part of the preface)⁴⁸⁶ for a scribe to supplement the First Series for Ealdorman Æthelweard with four additional homilies.

Date: Between [A] July–December 990 and [B] January–June 991

MS: K [Ker §15.2], fols 2v–3r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]

Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 177.

8.1.2.2. *CH I.11, Apparatus for Line 110*

Overview: Ostensibly drawing on Jerome,⁴⁸⁷ Ælfric seeks to interpret Christ's rebuke of Peter, 'Get behind me, Satan' [Matthew 16.23].

Date: Between [A] *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and [B] *ca* 998 x 1002

MSS: E [Ker §48.61], fols 308v–309r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 2];
K [Ker §15.13], fol. 37v [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]; and
M [Ker §21.8], fol. 60r [Phase δ^1]

Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 270.

Digital Images: The whole of MS E is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/fh878gz0315>.

8.1.2.3. *CH I.12, Apparatus for Line 83*

Overview: Treating John's account of the feeding of the five thousand, where John speaks generally of Christ distributing bread to the people [John 6.11], Ælfric notes that the other gospels indicate that Christ gave the loaves to his disciples to distribute.⁴⁸⁸

Date: Between [A] *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and [B] *ca* 998 x 1002

MSS: K [Ker §15.14], fol. 40v [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]; and
M [Ker §21.12], fol. 86v [Phase δ^1]

Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 278.

⁴⁸⁶ Positions for and against may be found in Godden, 'Commentary', p. 7; and Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 55, respectively.

⁴⁸⁷ See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 89.

⁴⁸⁸ See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. 98.

8.1.2.4. CH I.21, Apparatus for Line 148

- Overview: Reflecting on James' statement that the demons believe in God and tremble [James 2.19], Ælfric concludes that those who neither believe in nor fear God are worse than demons.⁴⁸⁹
- Date: Between [A] ca 993 (after 4 June) and [B] ca 998 x 1002
- MS: K [Ker §15.23], fol. 66r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]
- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 350.

8.1.2.5. CH I.26

8.1.2.5.1. Apparatus for Line 156

- Overview: In his hagiographic account, Ælfric notes that Paul had been brought as a prisoner to Rome, been released and later returned there of his own free will.⁴⁹⁰
- Date: Between [A] ca 993 (after 4 June) and [B] ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: K [Ker §15.28], fol. 82r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4];
L [Ker §18.9], fol. 62r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 3]; and
f^k [Ker §222.1], fol. '23' [17r] [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 2]
- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 393.
- Digital Images: The relevant leaf of MS L, along with the rest of the manuscript, is available at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>.

8.1.2.5.2. Apparatus for Line 275

- Overview: Ælfric here cites Jerome for his assertion that Peter and Paul were martyred on the same day.⁴⁹¹
- Date: Between [A] ca 993 (after 4 June) and [B] ca 998 x 1002
- MSS: K [Ker §15.28], fol. 83v [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]; and
L [Ker §18.9], fol. 65r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 3]
- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 398.
- Digital Images: The relevant leaf of MS L, along with the rest of the manuscript, is available at <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/1>.

⁴⁸⁹ See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. 172.

⁴⁹⁰ See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 220 and 216.

⁴⁹¹ See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. 220.

8.1.2.6. *CH I.28, Apparatus for Line 40*

- Overview: Ælfric cites 'a chronicle' for the number of Jews besieged in Jerusalem by Titus.⁴⁹²
- Date: Between [A] *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and [B] *ca* 998 x 1002
- MS: K [Ker §15.30], fol. 88r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]
- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 411.

8.1.2.7. *CH I.30, Apparatus for Line 3*

- Overview: Ælfric cites Jerome's *Epistula* 47 as his main source for the homily.⁴⁹³
- Date: Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992⁴⁹⁴
- MS: H [Ker §220.47], fol. 177v [Phase γ^1 , Ha-type]
- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 429.
- Digital Image: Fol. 177v, along with the rest of MS H, may be found at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Vitellius_C_V.

8.1.2.8. *CH I.32, Apparatus for Lines 57 and 63*

8.1.2.8.1. *Apparatus for Line 57*

- Overview: Ælfric cites Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica* for his subsequent statement that Herod imprisoned John because he feared John's popularity among the Jews who believed and obeyed him [*CH* II.32.57–61].⁴⁹⁵
- Date: Between [A] *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and [B] *ca* 998 x 1002
- MS: K [Ker §15.34], fol. 104r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]
- Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 453.

8.1.2.8.2. *Apparatus for Line 63*

- Overview: Ælfric cites Gregory the Great for his explanation of John the Baptist's question, "'Are you the one who was to come, or should we expect someone else?'" [Matthew 11.2–3].⁴⁹⁶
- Date: Between [A] *ca* 993 (after 4 June) and [B] *ca* 998 x 1002

⁴⁹² See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. 232.

⁴⁹³ See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. 249.

⁴⁹⁴ Between the time Ælfric sent the phase β copy of *CH* I and the copy of *CH* II to Sigeric.

⁴⁹⁵ See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 269.

⁴⁹⁶ Godden, *Commentary*, p. 269.

MS: K [Ker §15.34], fol. 104r [Phase γ^2 , K-type, Archetype 4]
Edition: Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 453.

8.2. CH II [1.2 above]

8.2.1. Old English Notes

8.2.1.1. CH II.14.357

Overview: Here and at the corresponding point in CH I [8.1.1.2 above], Ælfric asserts that church custom forbids preaching on the three ‘silent days’ of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.⁴⁹⁷

Date: ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998

MSS: K [Ker §15.57], fol. 185v [First Recension, Archetype 2]; and
M [Ker §21.17], fol. 139v [First Recension, Archetype 6]

Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, p. 149.

Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 263, line 16.

8.2.2. Latin Notes

8.2.2.1. CH II.4.129–30

Overview: Ælfric humbly asks the more erudite reader to forgive Ælfric for treating the account of Abraham and Isaac *tam aperte* (‘so openly’) – that is, perhaps, in such theological detail – for the unlearned.⁴⁹⁸

Date: ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998

MS: K [Ker §15.47], fol. 145v [First Recension, Archetype 2]

Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, p. 33.

8.2.2.2. CH II.6.117

Overview: Ælfric cites Augustine for his discussion of the *læwedra manna regol* (‘rule for laymen’) regarding sexual purity – for married persons, widows, and virgins.⁴⁹⁹

Date: ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998

MS: K [Ker §15.49], fol. 152v [First Recension, Archetype 2]

Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, p. 56.

⁴⁹⁷ See Hill, ‘Ælfric’s “Silent Days”’.

⁴⁹⁸ See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 376.

⁴⁹⁹ See Godden, *Commentary*, p. 392.

8.2.2.3. CH II.24

8.2.2.3.1. CH II.24.128–30

- Overview: Ælfric cites [pseudo-]Augustine for his statement that on Judgement Day, Christ will gather his faithful up to heaven and yet ascend alone, inasmuch as he and his Church form one body.⁵⁰⁰
- Date: ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998
- MS: K [Ker §15.72], fol. 211v [First Recension, Archetype 2]
- Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, p. 225.

8.2.2.3.2. CH II.24.163–4

- Overview: Echoing what he goes on to say in the vernacular, Ælfric considers Christ's affirmation to Peter that "'on this rock I will build my church'" [Matthew 16.18], stating that Peter represents the Church, the Christian people, and citing Augustine as his authority.⁵⁰¹
- Date: ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998
- MS: K [Ker §15.72], fol. 212r [First Recension, Archetype 2]
- Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, p. 226.

8.2.2.4. CH II.30.19

- Overview: Perhaps originally a marginal note,⁵⁰² Ælfric's aside here records a textual variant for Job 1.6, where the 'sons of God' or 'angels of God' present themselves before the Lord.⁵⁰³
- Date: ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998
- MS: K [Ker §15.79], fol. 223v [First Recension, Archetype 2]
- Edition: Godden, *Second Series*, p. 260.

8.2.3. Latin and Old English

8.2.3.1. SH II.28 [Augmentation to CH II.39, After Line 121]⁵⁰⁴

- Overview: Citing Jerome's interpretation of Paul [2 Thessalonians 2.3–8], Ælfric asserts that while the Antichrist would not come until the Roman Empire had fallen, he would come thereafter – only to be overthrown by Christ's return.

⁵⁰⁰ See Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 561–2.

⁵⁰¹ See Godden, *Commentary*, pp. 562–3.

⁵⁰² Godden, *Commentary*, p. 595.

⁵⁰³ See, for example, Godden, *Commentary*, p. 595.

⁵⁰⁴ Godden, *Second Series*, p. 331.

- Date: Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MSS: P1 [Ker §332.25], fol. 85r, lines 5–17 [Second Recension, Archetype 1]; and
V2 [Ker §69.5], p. 86, line 19 – p. 87, line 17 [Second Recension, Archetype 6]
- Edition: Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 784.
- Digital Images: The whole of MS V2 is available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pz542dy6146>.

†8.3. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* [1.6.1.3.1 above] (in Latin)

- Overview: Ælfric first introduces the homily by explaining that he translated it into English at Bishop Æthelwold II's request, making a copy for himself as well. Later, when interpreting Christ's exhortation to await his coming even through the watches of the night [Luke 12.35–40] – periods which Ælfric associates with childhood, adulthood, and old age – Ælfric notes that while Christ only mentions the second and third watch [Luke 12.38], the first is implied as well.
- Date: Early in the period following late 1006 x 1007
- MSS: B [Ker §310.84], fol. 168v;
Q [Ker §43.45], pp. 451 and 453;
R1 [Ker §41A.11], p. 127;
S [Ker §333.16], pp. 293; and
T2 [Ker §331.76], fol. 231v;
- Edition: Upchurch and Kleist 9; Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, pp. 49 and 52.
- Digital Images: Complete sets of MSS Q and R1 are available at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/cg474kk2275> and <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Translation: The notes are translated by Clayton, 'Of Mice and Men', pp. 1 and 7, respectively.
- Notes: Two Latin notes appear with his homily, one introducing it and one in the body of the text itself (Assmann 4, lines 62–3). The first is absent from MSS B, P2 [not in Ker (would have followed §332.24)], R1, S, T2, and probably f^k [damaged; uncertain]; while the second is lost to damage in P2 and probably in f^k [Ker §222.38], fols '171', '173', and '174' [disarranged; presently fols 77rv, 90rv and 91rv, and 76r].

8.4. *De temporibus anni* [2.3 above]

- Overview: Ælfric introduces *De temporibus* as a discussion of chronological matters intended to be read at will rather than preached as a homily.
- Date: Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992 or 992, after January x June
- MS: K [Ker §15.93], fol. 255r
- Edition: Blake, *De temporibus anni*, p. 76, lines 1–2.
- Translation: Blake, *De temporibus anni*, p. 77, lines 1–2.
- Notes: The Old English note that precedes *De temporibus* in MS K serves there as a transition between the *Oratio* that closes the *Catholic Homilies* [see 1.2 above] and *De temporibus*. Part of the note is transferred to line 6 of *De temporibus* in Y16a [Ker §193A], fol. 24r.⁵⁰⁵

8.5. *Lives of Saints* [3.2.1 above]

8.5.1. *LS 28* [Skeat II.31] (*in Latin*)

- Overview: Ælfric notes that he translated an account of Martin before [CH II.34], but, constrained by entreaties, does so here at greater length; in a personal appeal, he then invokes the saint's aid.
- Date: Later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) – *ca* 998
- MS: W [Ker §162.1–2 and 3–47], fol. 203r
- Edition: Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. 312; Clayton and Mullins, forthcoming.
- Digital Image: Fol. 203r, along with the rest of MS W, may be found at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_VII.
- Translation: Partly translated by Szarmach, 'Ælfric Revises', p. 58 n. 2; see also p. 41.
- Notes: The Latin note – which 'suggests a close link to the author'⁵⁰⁶ – and prayer to St Martin that follows *LS 28* [Skeat II.31] in W appears only in that manuscript, not in B, fⁱ⁽¹⁾, or Y11.

8.6. *Her is geleafa*

- Overview: Here, says Ælfric, are doctrines, prayers, and blessings for laymen who do not know Latin.
- Date: *ca* 993 (after 4 June) – *ca* 998

⁵⁰⁵ See Blake, *De temporibus anni*, pp. 104 and 99.

⁵⁰⁶ Szarmach, 'Ælfric Revises', p. 41.

- MSS: J1 [Ker §144.10], fol. 58r; and
K [Ker §15.94], fol. 261v
- Edition: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 596, lines 1–3.
- Translation: Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 597, lines 1–3.
- Notes: This Old English note that precedes the *Pater noster* [7.13 above] in MSS J1 and K may serve to introduce both this text and the creeds and prayers that follow [4.4.2, 7.7 and 7.10–11]. The note does not appear in the copy of the *Pater noster* found in Y17 [Ker §197.b], fol. 159v.

8.7. *Her geendað seo forme boc (partly in Latin)*

- Overview: The first part of the colophon, in Old English, serves as a transition between the two books of sermons in MS R, distinguishing the *quando uolueris* nature of the one from the liturgical structure of the other, noting that LS 16 [Skeat I.17] and *De octo uitiiis* have been augmented from other sermons, and exhorting the manuscript's owner to make its contents useful to others. The second part, in Latin, lists the contents of the second book, 'quod ælfricus abbas anglisce transtulit' ('which Abbot Ælfric translated into English').
- Date: ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)
- MS: R1 [Ker §41A.19], p. 163
- Edition: Clayton, 'Ælfric's *De auguriis*', pp. 376–7.
- Digital Image: The relevant page of MS R1 is available, along with the rest of the manuscript, at <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pm669yz1553>.
- Translation: Clayton, 'Ælfric's *De auguriis*', p. 377.
- Notes: While Pope attributes the colophon to an anonymous compiler,⁵⁰⁷ Clayton strongly argues for Ælfric's authorship – though she distinguishes between the Old English portion of the colophon, which she assigns to Ælfric and the Latin lines, which speak of him in the third person and which 'could be a later note by the recipients [of R's ancestor], concerned to list the contents of the second book'.⁵⁰⁸ On the role of the colophon in determining the authorship of *De octo uitiiis*, see 2.1.3 above.

⁵⁰⁷ *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 63.

⁵⁰⁸ 'Ælfric's *De auguriis*', p. 385.

3.

Ælfrician Manuscripts

While for certain questions the above treatment of the Ælfrician Canon may serve well, identifying, for example, in which manuscripts copies of a text may be found, at other times it is the manuscript context one wants in view. How might the contents of D2 have coloured, say, the reading of Ælfric's First Series homily for Rogationtide (CH I.18) in twelfth-century Rochester? How might Ælfric's exegesis of Christ's calming of the storm and healing of the Gadarene demoniac (CH II.23.127–97 / SH II.17.203–76) have been heard if preached on the Third Sunday after Pentecost (as in K) as opposed to the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost (as in H)? If items were read sequentially for *lectio diuina*, for example, what difference might it have made for the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* to follow Ælfric's account of Thomas' passion (LS 32 [Skeat II.36]) in W, but to follow the *Hexameron* in S? Or for Ælfric's *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* in full to precede his Latin *De septiformi spiritu* in B, but for only an independent portion to precede *De duodecim abusiis* in G? Or for *De auaritia* to appear independently between *De uaniloquio neglegentium* and a version of SH II.21 in R1, but embedded in a copy of CH II.19 in f^b?

For all that Ker's *Catalogue* is indispensable when considering the contents of manuscripts in full, identifying Ælfrician elements therein is sometimes a labour of love. The following therefore offers a handy reference for those working specifically with an Ælfrician lens. It lists all witnesses to Ælfrician works; assigns sigla to manuscripts and transcriptions lacking a reference common to Clemoes, Godden, and Pope; delineates subdivisions within sigla to facilitate precision and limit confusion; furnishes dates, origin, and provenance according to Ker, Gneuss, and another authorities; offers explanatory notes; lists references to printed manuscript descriptions; details Ælfrician contents; and sets forth manuscript subdivisions where present in Budny, Clemoes, Godden, and Ker.

Manuscripts Referenced by Clemoes, Godden, and/or Pope

A

London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii, fols 4r–218r (January–June 990, Cerne Abbas¹)

Notes: The base manuscript for Clemoes' edition, A constitutes the unique witness to the earliest known stage of Ælfric's First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, with notes in Ælfric's own hand. It is one of four complete copies of the First Series, the others being H, K, and Q. Designated by Ker as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale*.²

Described by: Ker §257; Gneuss and Lapidge §472. See also Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 1; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 17.³

Ælfrician Contents:

1.1. CH I.1.1–79 (*ponne*) and 160 (*hu he*) – 296 [Ker §257.1], 2–14 [§257.2–14], 15.1–84 (*færeldes*) and 89 (*se engel*) – 194 [§247.15], 16–19 [§257.16–19], 20.1–99 (*lufast*) and 111 (*Nis se*) – 277 [§257.20], 21–2 [§257.21–2], 23.1–145 [§257.23], 24.23 (7 *gif*) – 210 [§257.24], and 25–40 [Ker §257.25–40]

8.1.1.1. Old English Note to CH I.12, at line 79 [§257.12]

B

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (2406) (s. xii²)

Notes: B is made up of a homiliary within a homiliary, both with texts mostly by Ælfric. An unordered collection of homilies with some additional theological texts interspersed (fols vi^r–64r and 129r–170r) surrounds an ordered set homilies loosely ranging from Advent to the Common of the Saints (fols 65r–128v); the embedded collection is set apart in the manuscript with blank space at the beginning and end. Additions from s. xii^{ex} or xii/xiii (fols 170r–172r) follow.⁴

Described by: Ker §310; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Bethurum, *Homilies*, p. 5; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 1–5; Conti, 'Preaching Scripture', pp. 28–58; Conti and Da Rold, 'Bodley 343'; Crawford, *Exameron*, pp. 7–8; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxvii–xl; Irvine, *Homilies*, pp. xviii–liv; Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, pt 1, pp. 352–3 [§2406]; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 14–18; Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxx; Skeat, *Lives*,

¹ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 1. Ker: s. x^{ex} (*Catalogue*, p. 324); Gneuss and Lapidge: s. x^{ex} (prob. 990), SW England, prob. Cerne (*Manuscripts*, p. 385). Unless otherwise stated (as here), dates in this section are drawn from Ker, *Catalogue*.

² *Catalogue*, p. 527.

³ References here and below are to entries in Ker, *Catalogue*; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*; and descriptions not present in the latter's ample surveys.

⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 527, 370, and 372.

vol. II, p. xiii; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 17 and 139–40; Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 15; and Wilcox, *Homilies*, pp. 71–101.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.1 [Ker §310.6], 2 [§310.34], 6 [§310.48], 8 [§310.21], 9 [§310.36], 10 [§310.27], 13 [§310.23], 14 [§310.38], 15 [§310.39], 17.1–61 (*big[leofan]*) [§310.3], 18 [§310.40], 19 [§310.13], 20 [§310.47], 21 [§310.41], 22 [§310.42], 23 [§310.49], 24 [§310.50], 25 [§310.43], 26 [§310.44–5], 27 [§310.46], 28 [§310.51], 29 [§310.14], 30 [§310.55], 31 [§310.15], 33 [§310.52], 34 [§310.74], 35 [§310.53], 36 [§310.56–7], 38.1–168 [§310.30], 39 [§310.32], and 40 [§310.33];
- 1.2. *CH* II.3 [§310.35], 4 [§310.75], 5.234–87 and 1–233 [§310.24 and 25], 6 [§310.26], 24.53–253 [§310.58], 25.1–132 (*ongean*) [§310.1], 26.111–152 and 108 (*Seo grædignys*) – 133 (*undances*) [§310.2 and §310.82 (*De auaritia* / Belfour 13)], 27.1–181 [§310.59], 28 [§310.19], 29 [§310.20], 30 [§310.11], 31.93 (*swiðor*) – 107 [§310.4], 32.80–225 [§310.17], 37 [§310.60], 38 [§310.62], 39 [§310.63] and 40 [§310.73];
- 1.3. *SH* I.6.170–208, 209–83 and 318–27 (*Lazarus* III [UK 3 / Belfour 14]) [§310.83], 8 [§310.8], and 12 [§310.7];
- 1.5. *TH* II:⁵ *CH* I.6 [§310.48], 10 [§310.27], 14 [§310.38], 15 [§310.39], 18 [§310.40], 19 [§310.13], 20 [§310.47], 21 [§310.41], 22 [§310.42], 23 [§310.49], 24 [§310.50], 28 [§310.51], 33 [§310.52], 35 [§310.53], 39 [§310.32], and 40 [§310.33]; *CH* II.4 [§310.75], 5 [§310.25 and 24], 6 [§310.26], 25 (imperfect) [§310.1], 26 (imperfect) [§310.2], and 31 (imperfect) [§310.4]; *SH* I.8 [§310.8] and 12 [§310.7]; *Secundum Iohannem* (Irvine 3 / Belfour 7) [§310.54]; *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* III (UK 3 / Belfour 14) [§310.83]; *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum* (Irvine 1) [§310.9]; and *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi* (Irvine 2) [§310.10];
- 1.6.1.1.1. *In natali domini* (UK 2; Belfour 9) [§310.77];
- 1.6.1.1.3. *Secundum Iohannem* (Irvine 3 / Belfour 7) [§310.54];
- 1.6.1.1.4. *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* III (UK 3 / Belfour 14) [§310.83];
- 1.6.1.1.8. *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum* (Irvine 1) [§310.9];
- 1.6.1.1.9. *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi* (Irvine 2) [§310.10];
- 1.6.1.2.1. *Nisi granum frumenti* (Irvine 4) [§310.61];
- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [§310.84];
- 2.1.4. *De septiformi spiritu* (UK 17; Napier 7) [§310.69];
- 2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§310.69];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 9 [Skeat I.10] [§310.22], 28 [Skeat II.31] [§310.18], and 29 [Skeat II.32] [§310.31]. Not edited or collated by Skeat: *In natali domini*, revision of *LS* 1 [Skeat I.1] [§310.77]; *LS* 9 [Skeat I.10] (partially collated⁶) [§310.22];
- 4.1.5. *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr II) [§310.67];
- 4.1.6. *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr III) [§310.68];
- 4.3.2. *Letter to Sigeweard* (*Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo*) [§310.65];
- 7.2. *De auaritia* (Belfour 13; *CH* II.26.108–33) [§310.82]

⁵ For an identification of items newly revised or composed for *TH* II, see 1.5 under 'The Ælfrician Canon' above.

⁶ See Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, p. 218.

- 8.1.1.2. Old English Note to *CH* I.14, Apparatus for Line 220⁷ [§310.38]; and
8.3. Latin Note to *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9) [1.6.1.3.1 above] [§310.84]

Subdivisions:

Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 2–5: Ba (Ker §310.1–4), Bb (§310.5), Bc (§310.6–10), Bd (§310.11–31) [Bd1 (§310.11–22 and 30–1) and Bd2 (§310.23–9)], Be (§310.32–64) [Be1 (§310.32–42), Be2 (§310.43–6), Be3 (§310.47–8), Be4 (§310.49–53), Be5 (§310.54–7), Be6 (§310.58–63) and Be7 (§310.64)], Bf (§310.65–75), and Bg (§310.77–84);
Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii: Ba, Bb, Be [without subsections], and Bg as Clemons; Bc (§310.6–12), Bd (§310.13–31), and Bf (§310.65–76); and
Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1a – Ordered collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* for the period from Advent to the Common of the Saints (§310.32–64⁸) and 2 – Unordered collection of *temporale* and⁹ *sanctorale* (§310.1–31 and 65–84)

C

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303 (Ker: s. xii¹ ¹⁰)

Notes: Two ordered collections of pieces, mostly by Ælfric, for Sundays and non-saints' festivals from the Second Sunday after Epiphany to Easter (pp. 1–75) and from Rogationtide to the Twenty-First Sunday after Pentecost (pp. 211–90), surrounding another mostly Ælfrician collection for saints' days for the period 3 May to 6 December and for the Common of Saints (pp. 76–202), with additional works.¹¹ For the debate over the relationship between C, D, and F, see Notes under MS D below.

Described by: Ker §57; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 5–7; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxiii–xxxvii; James, *Corpus Christi*, vol. II, pp. 95–100; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 18–20; Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxix; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. xiii–xiv; Treharne, 'Corpus Christi College, 303'; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 18 (see also pp. 148–53); and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 133.

⁷ Here and below, all references to 'apparatus' in *CH* I and II refer to the second, lower apparatus in Clemons' and Godden's editions.

⁸ While Ker's index of homilies (*Catalogue*, p. 527) groups §310.64, the anonymous homily on the *Visio Pauli*, with §310.1–31 and 64–84 (see hereafter), this is likely an oversight: in his introduction to B, Ker associates the homily with the preceding block of texts, arranged loosely according to the liturgical calendar and set apart before and after with blank spaces in the manuscript (*Catalogue*, p. 368); as previously noted, moreover, Clemons and Godden likewise class §310.32–64 as a unit ('Be').

⁹ Ker describes his second category of homilies as 'items of Temporale or of Sanctorale in disorder' (*Catalogue*, p. 527), but this heading should properly read 'and/or', as certain collections listed here (including B) contain both.

¹⁰ Treharne dates C to s. xii^{med} Rochester ('Making their Presence Felt', p. 408; and 'Corpus Christi College, 303'); Clemons likewise suggests that the manuscript was 'likely on textual grounds to have been written at Rochester' (*First Series*, p. 5; see also p. 139).

¹¹ In his designation of homilies (*Catalogue*, p. 527), Ker does not include the miscellaneous pieces on pp. 202–11 and 290–362 (§57.40–1 and 62–73).

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.8 [Ker §57.2] 10 [§57.6], 11 [§57.7], 12 [§57.10], 14 [§57.14], 15 [§57.16], 18 (omitting lines 2–43) [§57.42], 21 [§57.48], 22 [§57.49], 23 [§57.50], 24 [§57.53], 25 [§57.19], 26 [§57.20–1], 27 [§57.22], 28 [§57.56], 29 [§57.24], 32 [§57.25], 33 [§57.60], 34 [§57.29], 35 [§57.61], 36 [§57.30–1], 37 [§57.32], and 38 [§57.33];
- 1.2. *CH* II.4, last four lines (mostly illegible)¹² [§57.1], 5 [§57.3–4], 6 [§57.5], 8 [§57.8], 13 [§57.12], 14 [§57.13], 22 [§57.46], 23 [§57.51–2], 25 [§57.54], 26 [§57.55], 28 [§57.57], 31 [§57.58], *De sancta Maria* [§57.59], 35 [§57.35], 36 [§57.36], 37 [§57.37], and 38 [§57.38];
- 1.3. *SH* I.4 [§57.9] 6 [§57.11], and 11 [§57.41]; and II.17.203–76 [= *CH* II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 8 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnysse*)] [§57.52], 19 [§57.64], and 21.1–140, 150–296, 299–301, 304–514, and 565–676 [§57.65];
- 1.6.1.1.4. *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* I (UK 3) [§57.11];
- 1.6.1.2.3. *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae uirginis* (UK 8; Assmann 3) [§52.27];
- 2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [§57.66];
- 2.1.2. *De duodecim abusiuis* [§57.63];
- 3.1.2. *Judith* (Assmann 9) [§57.73];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] [§57.67], 12 [Skeat I.13] [§57.68], 15 [Skeat I.16] [§57.62], 16 [Skeat I.17] [§57.47], part of 18 [Skeat I.19.155–258] (*Quomodo Acitofel*) [§57.70], and 23 [Skeat II.25] [§57.71–2];
- 3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [§57.70];
- 3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [§57.72] (independent piece); and
- 7.16. *Uton biddan calle* [§57.21]

Subdivisions:

- Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 5–7: Ca (Ker §57.1–17), Cb (§57.18–34), Cc (§57.35–40), Cd (§57.41–61), and Ce (§57.62–73);
- Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv: (as Clemons); and
- Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1b – Ordered collection of *temporale* from the Second Sunday after Epiphany to Easter (§57.1–17) and Rogationtide to the Twenty-First Sunday after Pentecost (§57.42–61);¹³ and 1c – Ordered collection of *sanctorale* from 3 August to 6 December and the Common of the Saints (§57.18–39)

¹² Not collated by Godden; see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 99.

¹³ Ker's boundary to this 'homiliary' is problematized by the subsequent presence of Ælfric's *De duodecim abusiuis* [§57.63], *De falsis diis* [§57.65], the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* [§57.66], and *LS* 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62] [§57.72], texts whose relationship to material in the homiliary proper (such as *SH* I.4 and 6) may be of significance; see Kleist, 'Assembling Ælfric'.

D

[D1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 (2404) (Ker: s. xi^{in-med}; Gneuss: s. xiⁱⁿ, Canterbury or Rochester; provenance Rochester); and

[D2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 342 (2405) (as above, with additions on fols 203r–218r [Ker §309.76–9], s. xi¹,¹⁴ and fol. 202v [§309.75], s. xi^{med}, SE England, probably Rochester¹⁵)

Notes: An early-eleventh-century homiliary arranged in two volumes according to the liturgical year, with the vast majority of sermons being taken from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. Designated by Ker as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale*.¹⁶ Ker states that parts of C were copied from D2, with readings in the former following 'the capricious alterations of the eleventh-century "correctors" of the latter'.¹⁷ E, too, may derive from D: Budny describes it as an 'incomplete, reordered and modified copy' of the D homiliary.¹⁸ Budny also suggests that shortly after the additions to D2 were made, they were copied into F, after which both D and F served as exemplars for C.¹⁹ A more recent study by Treharne, however, argues that F served as the direct exemplar of at least parts of C and D, both of which she dates slightly later than Ker.²⁰

Described by: Ker §309; Gneuss and Lapidge §569. See also Kato, 'Bodley 340 + Bodley 342'; Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxvii; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 18.

Ælfrician Contents:

D1

- 1.1. CH I. 3 [Ker §309.2], 4 [§309.3], 5 [§309.4], 6 [§309.5], 7 [§309.6], 8 [§309.9], 9 [§309.10], 10 [§309.17], 13 [§309.14], 15 [§309.27], 16 [§309.28], and 17 [§309.29];
- 1.2. CH II.5 [§309.15], 6 [§309.16], 7 [§309.18], 9 [§309.11], 10 [§309.12], 11 [§309.13], 17 [§309.30], and 18 [§309.31–2];

D2

- 1.1. CHI.1 [§309.33], 18 [§309.34], 19 [§309.36], 20 [§309.40], 21 [§309.42], 22 [§309.43], 23 [§309.44], 24 [§309.47], 25 [§309.48], 26 [§309.51–2], 27 [§309.53], 28 [§309.56],

¹⁴ Ker describes D2, fols 203r–206r [§309.76–7] as Rochester additions of s. xi¹, and fols 206v–218r [§309.78–9] as imitative additions 'of about the same date' (*Catalogue*, pp. 367).

¹⁵ For these additions, see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 366–7; for the dates, see also Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 10; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 361; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 444. Treharne dates D to the 'later eleventh century' ('Making their Presence Felt', p. 408).

¹⁶ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

¹⁷ Specifically, §57.35–8 and §57.48–61 in C were copied from §309.64–7 [Ker reads '63–6'] and §309.42–7, 54–6, and 58–62 [Ker reads '58–61'] in D2 (*Catalogue*, p. 99).

¹⁸ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 558; see also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 76.

¹⁹ *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 466.

²⁰ That is, s. xii^{med} rather than Ker's s. xii¹ for C; and the 'later eleventh century' rather than Ker's s. xiⁱⁿ–xi^{med} for D (Treharne, 'Making their Presence Felt', p. 408; see also 'Corpus Christi College, 303' and Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 99 and 361).

- 33 [§309.61], 35 [§309.62], 36 [§309.70–1], 37 [§309.72], 38.337 (*ðæt*) – 351 (outer half of leaf trimmed) [§309.78–9 (additions)], 39 [§309.73] and 40 [§309.74];
- 1.2. *CH* II.5.1–41 [§309.77 (addition)], 7.123–79 [§309.76 (addition)], 19 [§309.35], 20 [§309.37], 21 [§309.38–9], 22 [§309.41], 23 [§309.45–6], 24 [§309.49–50], 25 [§309.54], 26 [§309.55], 27 [§309.57], 28 [§309.58], 31 [§309.59], *De sancta Maria* [§309.60], *Excusatio dictantis* [§309.63], 35 [§309.64], 36 [§309.65], 37 [§309.66], 38 [§309.67], 39 [§309.68] and 40 [§309.69];
- 1.3. *SH* II.17.203–76 [= *CH* II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 8 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnysse*)] [§309.46];

Subdivisions:

Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 8–10: Da (§309.1–74) [Da1 (§309.1–32 and 42–74) and Da2 (§309.33–41)] and Db (§309.78–9 and 75) [Db1 (§309.78–9) and Db2 (§309.75)]; [Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

E

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 (Ker: s. xi¹, xi²; Gneuss: xi¹, possibly Worcester; additions s. xi², W England; provenance Worcester) [fols 150r–159r and 218r–247r being ‘nearly contemporary’ interpolations into the original collection (Ker pp. 76 and 79)]

Notes:

An ‘incomplete, reordered, and modified’ copy of the homiliary in D,²¹ E consists of [I] an ‘early eleventh century’ collection primarily of entries from Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* (fols 1r–149v, 160r–217v and 248r–291v),²² with [II] ‘nearly contemporary’ interpolations into the original collection (fols [i] 150r–159v and 218r–247v, [ii] 328r–366v and 378r–385v, and [iii] 291r–321v and 386r–394v),²³ and [III] three homilies added in s. xi² (fols 321r–327v and 367r–377v). Parts I and II(i) comprise an ordered collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* [I] for the period from Christmas to 30 June and [II(i)] for Lent, Easter and the Common of the Saints; II(ii) forms an ordered collection of *sanctorale* for Saints’ Days in August, September, and November; and II(iii) and III are miscellaneous homilies not designated as homiliaries by Ker.²⁴

Described by: Ker §48 and pp. liii–liv; Gneuss and Lapidge §64. See also Lucas, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 73–98; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xiii; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 18 and 90–3; Treharne, ‘Corpus Christi College, 198’; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 125.

²¹ Excluding the additions in §309.75–9 (Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 558; see also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 76).

²² Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 76; see also pp. 77–9.

²³ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 76 and 79; see also pp. 79–81.

²⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527; and Budny, *Catalogue*, p. 558.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.1 [Ker §48.66 (addition)], 3 [§48.2], 4 [§48.3], 5 [§48.4], 6 [§48.5], 7 [§48.6], 8 [§48.9], 9 [§48.10], 10 [§48.17], 11 [§48.61 (interpolation)], 13 [§48.14], 15 [§48.27], 16 [§48.28], 17 [§48.29], 21 [§48.33], 22 [§48.34], 23 [§48.35], 25 [§48.38], 26 [§48.41–2], 27 [§48.43], 29 [§48.53 (interpolation)], 31.1–243 [§48.65 (addition)], and 34 [§48.55 (interpolation)];
- 1.2. *CH* II.4 [§48.8], 5 [§48.15], 6 [§48.16], 7 [§48.18], 8 [§48.44 (interpolation)], 9 [§48.11], 10 [§48.12], 11 [§48.13], 13 [§48.45 (interpolation)], 15 [§48.46 (interpolation)], 16 [§48.47–8 (interpolation)], 17 [§48.30], 18 [§48.31–2], 23 [§48.36–7], 24 [§48.39–40], 27.1–181 [§48.58 (interpolation)], 34 [§48.56 (interpolation)], *Excusatio dictantis* [§48.57 (interpolation)], 37 [§48.49 (interpolation)], 38 [§48.50 (interpolation)], and 39.1–207 [§48.51 (interpolation)];
- 1.3. *SH* I.4 [§48.63 (interpolation)] and II.17.203–76 [= *CH* II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 128 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 197 (*gehealtsumnyss*)] [§48.37];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 1 [Skeat I.5] [§48.60 (interpolation)], 14 [Skeat I.15] [§48.59 (interpolation)], and 23 [Skeat II.25] [§48.52 (interpolation)];
- 3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* (included in *LS* 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62]) [§48.52 (interpolation)];
- 4.4.2. *In quadragesima, de penitentia* (UK 19) [§48.62 (interpolation)] (adaptation); and
- 8.1.2.2. Latin Note to *CH* I.11, Apparatus for Line 110 [§48.61]

Subdivisions:

- Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 565–6: a (front endleaves [fols i*–ii*v]), b (contents list [fol. iii*rv] and Ker §48.1–43), c (§48.44–64), and d (§48.65–7);
- Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 11–13: Ea (§48.1–43), Eb (§48.44–63 and 64) [Eb1(i) (§48.44–5), Eb1(ii) (§48.46–51), Eb2 (§48.52–7), Eb3 (§48.58–63 and 64)], and Ec (§48.65–7) [Ec1 (§48.65) and Ec2 (§48.66–7)];
- Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxviii–xxix: Ea (§48.1–22, 23–32, and 33–43), Eb (§48.44–63 and 64) [Eb1 (§48.44–5 and 46–51), Eb2 (§48.52–4, 55, and 56–7), and Eb3 (§48.58–63 and 64)]; and
- Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1a – Ordered collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* for the period from Christmas to the Feast of St Paul [30 June] (§48.1–51) and 1c – Ordered collection of *sanctorale* (§48.52–7)

F

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, Part I, pp. 1–138 and 161–564²⁵ (Ker: s. xiⁱⁿ; Gneuss: s. x^{ex} or xiⁱⁿ, SE England²⁶) [see also R2]

Notes: Ker designates items §38.9–54, a set of ten anonymous and thirty-two Ælfrician homilies, as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* pieces covering the period from the Second Sunday after Epiphany to the Second Sunday in Advent.²⁷ Matthew Parker (1504–1575) was responsible for having pp. 139–60 (our R2) taken from CCCC 178 to augment CCCC 162. For the debate over the relationship between C, D, and F, see Notes under MS D above.

Described by: Ker §38; Gneuss and Lapidge §50. See also Lucas, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 19–40; Scragg, *Homilies*, pp. xxviii–xxix; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xiv; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 18 and 100–4; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 116.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. CH I.1 [Ker §38.1], 8 [§38.10], 10 [§38.13], 11 [§38.15], 12 [§38.23], 16 [§38.33], 17 [§38.34], 19 [§38.2], 20 [§38.3], 22 [§38.39], 23 [§38.40], 24 [§38.43], 28 [§38.46], 33 [§38.50], 35 [§38.51], 39 [§38.53], and 40 [§38.54];
- 1.2. CH II.4 [§38.9], 5 [§38.11], 6 [§38.12], 7 [§38.16], 8 [§38.18], 12 [§38.7–8], 13 [§38.25], 14 [§38.27], 15.76 (*He halgode*) – 85, 101–16 and 159–73 [§38.32 (composite homily)], 19 [§38.5], 23 [§38.41–2], 25 [§38.44], 26 [§38.45], 28 [§38.47], 31 [§38.48], and *De sancta Maria* [§38.49];
- 1.3. SH I.2 [§38.17], 3 [§38.20], 4 (rubric and opening words) [§38.21], 5 [§38.22], and 6 [§38.24]; and II.17.203–76 [= CH II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 8 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 197 (*gehealtsumnysse*)] [§38.42];
- 1.6.1.1.4. *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* I (UK 3) [§38.24];
- 1.6.1.1.5. *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* (UK 4 / Assmann 5) [§38.26];
- 3.2.1. LS 11 [Skeat I.12] [§38.14] (not edited or collated by Skeat) and 12 [Skeat I.13] [§38.6];
- 7.9. *De infantibus* [§38.52]

Subdivisions:

[Budny, *Catalogue*; and Clemoes, *First Series*: None;]
 Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxxi–xxxii: Fa (Ker §38.1–8) and Fb (§38.9–55); and
 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1b – Ordered collection of *temporale* pieces for the period from the Second Sunday after Epiphany to the Second Sunday in Advent (§38.9–54)

²⁵ Including 257*–258*, where the Parkerian pagination numbers two consecutive rectos as ‘257’ (Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 463).

²⁶ Budny localizes the manuscript’s origin probably to Canterbury or Rochester, and perhaps St Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury (*Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 465).

²⁷ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

G

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4r–169v (s. xii^{med})

Notes: A collection of anonymous and Ælfrician theological works, the latter taken largely from the *Catholic Homilies*. Designated by Ker as an unordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* pieces.²⁸

Described by: Ker §209; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 16–18; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xl–xlii; Planta, *Catalogue*, pp. 476–7; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 24–6; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 18, 136–8, 144–7, and 154–6; Tite, *Cotton’s Library*, p. 183; Treharne, ‘Vespasian D. xiv’; Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 202; and Wilcox, *Wulfstan Texts*, pp. 53–64.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. CH I.1.1–70 (*gelogode*) [Ker §209.1], 10.59 (*crist*) – 71 (*þone se mann*) [§209.53], 13.169–90 [§209.52], 18.14 (*god*) – 39 (*forbærnde*) [§209.40], 19.148 (*nan*) – 177 (*hellewite*) [§209.50], 20.7 (*An*) – 38 (*is*), 112 (*God*) – 113 (*ælmhti god*), and 185 (*ðu*) – 208 (*wyrcende*) [§209.4], 21²⁹ [§209.20], 25.1–46 (*þigene*) [§209.9], 26.1–16 (*heofonum*) [§209.10], 27.193 (*þæt godspel*) – 250 [§209.41], 28 [§209.14], 30 [§209.16 and 18], 32 [§209.19], 34.133–279 [§209.22], 36.147–291 [§209.29], 37.148 (*Oft*) – 280 [§209.36], and 40 [§209.28];
- 1.2. CH II.20 [§209.37], 21 [§209.38–9], 24.1–52 [§209.13], 27.182–231 [§209.12], 28 (with SH II.21) [§209.15; see also *Catalogue*, p. lxiv], 29.1–126 [§209.17], 30 [§209.42 and 23 (additional copy of 30.157 [*Godes*] – 159 [*sarnyssum*])], and 32.1–79 [§209.21];
- 1.3. SH I.4.41–55 [§209.20] and II.21.300–496 [§209.15];
- 2.1.2. *De duodecim abusiuis* [§209.6];
- [3.1.3. *Heptateuch*, precepts derived from *Deuteronomy* 16.19 and 18.11–12 (not by Ælfric) [§209];]
- 3.2.1. Part of LS 15 [Skeat I.16.267–312 and 312–81] [§209.7 and 8] (not edited or collated by Skeat);
- 4.1.5. *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr II), §§30–4 [§209.25] (appearing independently);
- 4.1.6. *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr III), §§120–45³⁰ [§209.5] (appearing independently); and
- 4.3.3. *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann 2) [§209.2]

²⁸ Ker describes his second category of homiliaries as ‘items of Temporale or of Sanctorale in disorder’ (*Catalogue*, p. 527), but this heading should properly read ‘and/or’, as certain collections listed here (including G) contain both.

²⁹ Two sentences from CH I.21 adapted following SH I.4.55; see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 18.

³⁰ Ælfric’s *Old English Decalogus Moysi*, taken from his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan*, appears here independently; the text should be distinguished from his Latin *Decalogus Moysi* [6.10].

Subdivisions:

Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 17–18: Ga (Ker §209.3–20), Gb (§309.21–6), Gc (§309.27–34), and Gd (§309.35–53);
[Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

H

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. v (s. x/xi and xi¹, SW England)

Notes: One of four complete copies of the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* – the others being A, K, and Q – with additions. Designated by Ker as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale*.³¹ H consisted initially of a now-imperfect set of First Series homilies from ca 1000; to this set was added in a nearly contemporary hand Ælfric's first four homilies for the Fridays in Lent (marked with an asterisk below) and at least two other texts, now lost. In the first half of the eleventh century, another scribe (Clemons' Hc) interpolated a number of homilies and passages throughout the volume at the appropriate points for the liturgical year.³² Finally, likely in the sixteenth century, a copy of SH I.11a.1–177 was made and added.³³

Described by: Ker §220; Gneuss and Lapidge §403. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 424; Tite, *Cotton's Library*, p. 163; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 19 and 123–8; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 208.

Ælfrician Contents (all imperfect, with losses at edges of leaves):

1.1. CH I.1 (lines 1–42 [*mihte*] replaced³⁴) [Ker §220.2], 2 [§220.3], 3 (lines 1–9 [*philippus*] replaced) [§220.5], 4.1–162 (*gym[stanas]*) and 200 (*æl[mihtigan]*) – 284 (lines 277 [*gemet*] – 284 replaced) [§220.6], 5 [§220.8], 6 [§220.9], 7 [§220.10], 8 [§220.11], 9 [§220.12], 10 (lines 198 [*ure*] – 204 replaced) [§220.13], 11 (whole homily replaced) [§220.14], 12 (lines 1–10 [*mid*] replaced) [§220.17], 13 [§220.18], 14 [§220.19], 15 [§220.20], 16 (lines 123 [*[forð]tihð*] – 126 [*Se apo[stol]*] replaced; Appendix B2³⁵ interpolated) [§220.21], 17 (lines 1–5 [*he*] replaced³⁶) [§220.22], 18 [§220.23], 19 [§220.24], 20 [§220.25], 21 [§220.26], 22 [§220.27], 23 [§220.28],

³¹ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

³² See Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 19–20, and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 26–8.

³³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 286.

³⁴ On the work of the Hc interpolator, see Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 20–1, 178, 198, 216, 265, 266, 275, 311, 313, 378, 379, 387, 428, 429, 439, 512, and 519; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 28–30; and Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 285–91. Clemons and Pope distinguish between the interpolator's additions and replacements of existing text: where the former consists of seventeen homilies inserted at the appropriate liturgical point and two passages added to items already present, in the latter, 'in order that the volume might not be disfigured by visible cancellations at the points of insertion, [the interpolator] excised some of the original leaves, erased short passages to make way for new matter, and made fresh copies of whatever was thus removed at the appropriate places on added leaves' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28; see also Clemons, *First Series*, p. 21). A distinction is thus made below between material 'interpolated' and 'replaced'.

³⁵ Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 533–5.

³⁶ 'Text supplied to make good a defect' (Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 21).

- 24 (lines 208 [*menniscum*] – 210 replaced) [§220.29], 25 (lines 1–225 [*andwerdum*] replaced) [§220.37], 26.1–44 (*oprum*) and 89 (*unbindan*) – 295 [§220.38–9], 27.1–216 (*his*) [§220.40–1], 28.17 (GREGORIUS) – 226 [§220.42], 29.1–67 (*worde to[bærst]*) and 115 (*fage[ttest]*) – 296 (*ecnys[se wuldrað. AM]EN*, with [*se wuldrað. AM]EN* replaced) [§220.43], 30 (whole homily replaced) [§220.47], 31 (lines 1–10 [*purh*] replaced) [§220.50], 32 [§220.51], 33 [§220.52], 34 [§220.53–4], 35 [§220.55], 36 [§220.56–7], 37 [§220.58], 38 (lines 161 [*namena*] – 345 [*arwurðnysse*] replaced³⁷) [§220.59–60], 39 [§220.61], and 40 [§220.62];
- 1.2. CH II.8 [§220.15 (interpolation)], 23 [§220.30 (interpolation)], 23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 8 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 197 (*gehealtsumnysse*) (part of SH II.17) [§220.45 (interpolation)], 25 [§220.34 (interpolation)], 26 [§220.35 (interpolation)], 28 (with SH II.26) [§220.44 (interpolation)], 29 [§220.48 (interpolation)], and 31 (with SH II.27) [§220.46 (interpolation)];
- 1.3. SH I.1 [§220.4 (interpolation)], 2 [*§220.63 (addition)], 3 [*§220.64 (addition)], 4 [§220.16 (interpolation)], 5 [*§220.65 (addition)], 6.1–208 and 292–357 (*leofað*) (*Erat quidam languens Lazarus I*; ending lost) and 6.209–91 (*Erat quidam languens Lazarus II*) [*§220.66 (addition, with interpolated passage)], and 11a (full homily and lines 1–177) [§220.1 (interpolation and s. xvi addition)]; and SH II.13 [§220.31 (interpolation)], 14 [§220.32 (interpolation)], 15 [§220.33 (interpolation)], 16 [§220.36 (interpolation)], 17 (includes CH II.23.127–8 and 131–97) [§220.45 (interpolation)], 26 (with CH II.28) [§220.44 (interpolation)], and 27 (with CH II.31) [§220.46 (interpolation)];
- 1.5. TH II: Augmented CH I.16 [§220.21 (with interpolated passage)], Augmented 17 [§220.22]; revised CH II.8 [§220.15 (interpolation)], 23 [§220.30 (interpolation)], 25 [§220.34 (interpolation)], 26 [§220.35 (interpolation)]; revised CH II.28 + SH II.26 [§220.44 (interpolation)]; revised CH II.31 + SH II.27 [§220.46 (interpolation)]; SH I.1 [§220.4 (interpolation)], 4 [§220.16 (interpolation)], and 11a [§220.1 (interpolation)]; SH II.13 [§220.31 (interpolation)], 14 [§220.32 (interpolation)], 15 [§220.33 (interpolation)], 16 [§220.36 (interpolation)], and 17 [§220.45 (interpolation)]; and *Lazarus II* (SH I.6.209–91) [§220.66];
- 1.6.1.1.4. *Erat quidam languens Lazarus I* (UK 3 / SH I.6.1–208 and 292–373) and II (UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91) [§220.66];
- 1.6.1.1.5. *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* (UK 4 / Assmann 5) [would have been Ker §220.67 (now lost)] (not printed by Assmann);³⁸
- 1.6.1.2.2. *De sancta uirginitate, uel de tribus ordinibus castitatis* (UK 7; Assmann 2, lines 13–224, and Assmann 3, lines 505–97) [§220.49 (interpolation)];
- 1.6.1.2.3. *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae uirginis* (UK 8; Assmann 3, lines 505–97) [§220.49 (interpolation)] (adapted to form *De sancta uirginitate* [1.6.1.2.2]);
- 4.3.2. *Letter to Sigeweard* (*Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo*), lines 676–814 [§220.7 (interpolation)];
- 4.3.3. *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann 2, lines 13–224) [§220.49 (interpolation)] (adapted to form *De sancta uirginitate* [1.6.1.2.2]);

³⁷ Text supplied ‘almost certainly to repair the loss of leaves’ (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28).

³⁸ See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 285–6; and Clemoes, ‘Supplementary Introduction’, p. xxv.

- 4.3.4. *Letter to Wulfgeat* (Assmann 1) [§220.1];
4.4.1. *Hieronimus se wurþfulla*, lines 676–814 [§220.7];
7.3. *De cogitatione* (UK 18) [§220.66 (interpolated into *SH* I.6)];
8.1.1.2. Old English Note to *CH* I.14, Apparatus for Line 220 [§220.19]; and
8.1.2.7. *CH* I.30, Apparatus for Line 3 [§220.47]

Subdivisions:

Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 19–21: Ha (Ker §220.2–3, 5–6, 8–13, 17–29, 37–43, and 50–62), Hb (§220.63–6), and Hc [interpolations] (§220.1, 4, 7, [14,³⁹] 15–16, 21, [22,⁴⁰] 30–6, 44–6, [47,⁴¹] 48–9, and 66);
[Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

[I⁴²]

J

[J1] London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii (Ker: s. xi^{3/4}; Gneuss: fols 1r–58v, s. xi^{3/4}; fols 59r–90v, s. xiⁱⁿ or xi^l, possibly St Augustine's, Canterbury; provenance *ibid.*); and

[J2] London, Lambeth Palace 489 (s. xi^{3/4}, Exeter⁴³)

Notes: J2 was possibly one volume with J1 before the sixteenth century,⁴⁴ and possibly written as a companion volume to V2, pp. 3–98 and 209–24. Clemons finds it likely, in fact, that in J1, J2, and V2 'we have parts of a once connected collection of homiletic material, the original arrangement of which cannot now be determined'; Bishop, moreover, argues that 'either they are companion volumes or each contains parts of two pre-existing volumes'.⁴⁵

Described by: Ker §§144 and 283; Gneuss and Lapidge §§322–3 and 520. See also James, *Lambeth Palace*, p. 51; James and Jenkins, *Lambeth Palace*, vol. II, pp. 679–81; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 579; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 138; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 19 and 47–75; Todd, *Catalogue*, p. 62; Treharne, 'Cleopatra B. xiii' and 'Lambeth Palace, 487'; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, pp. 201–2.

³⁹ Clemons does not include Ker §220.14 in his subdivisions of H, but Pope indicates that this item was removed and copied afresh by the Hc interpolator (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28).

⁴⁰ Clemons later assigns to the Hc interpolator 'a few words at the beginning' of this item (*First Series*, p. 125).

⁴¹ Clemons does not include Ker §220.47 in his subdivisions of H, but Pope indicates that this item was removed and copied afresh by the Hc interpolator (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 28).

⁴² Clemons, Godden, and Pope exclude 'I' from their manuscript sigla, presumably to avoid confusion with the personal pronoun.

⁴³ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 414; Ker has 's. xi quarter' (*Catalogue*, p. 344).

⁴⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 345; see also Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, pp. 248 and 414 [§§322 and 520].

⁴⁵ Clemons, *First Series*, p. 22; and Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts', p. 198; see also Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 248 [§322].

Ælfrician Contents:

J1

- 1.1. *CH* I.1 [Ker §144.3], 17 [§144.2], and 18 (heavily adapted extracts not collated in Clemoes, *First Series*) [§144.6];
- 1.3. *SH* I.8.1–19 [§144.8];
- 7.10. *Se læssa creda* (UK 22) [§144.10];
- 7.13. *Pater noster* (UK 24) [§144.10]; and
- 8.6. *Her is geleafa* [§144.10];

J2

- 1.1. *CH* I.2.293 (*Heo*) – 303 [Ker §283.1 (composite homily)], 11.102–7 [§283.5], 15 [§283.2], 19.1–13 (*heofenum*), 40 (*for þi*) – 57 (*fotsceamul*), 64 (*we*) – 164 (*drifð*), 178 (*ðæt seofode*) – 218 (*mannum*) [§283.5 (with interpolations from *CH* I.11, *CH* II.1, and *De penitentia*)], and 36.1–146 [§283.3];
- 1.2. *CH* II.1.293–303 [§283.5 (composite homily)] and 40.1–73 (*goda*), 293 (*Wite gehwa*) – 298 (*gebete*) and 298 (*Ne gedyrstlæce*) – 317 apparatus (*a butan end*) [§283.6 (composite homily)];
- 1.6.1.3.2. *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ* (UK 10; Brotanek 1) [§283.8];
- 3.2.1. Part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.75–86] [§283.6 (composite homily)] and 18 [Skeat 19.248–54] [§283.6 (composite homily)] (neither item edited or collated by Skeat);
- 3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* (part of *LS* 18 [Skeat I.19.248–54], for collation) [§283.6]; and
- 4.4.2. *In quadragesima, de penitentia* (UK 19) [§283.5]

Subdivisions:

Clemones, *First Series*, pp. 22–4: Ja (Ker §144), Jb (§283.1–3), and Jc (§283.4–8); [Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

K

Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28 (s. x/xi, possibly Cerne; provenance Durham⁴⁶)

Notes:

The only surviving copy of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* containing the Latin and Old English prefaces to both Series, as well as the *Ammonitio*, *Explicit*, and *Oratio* from the Second Series, K is one of four complete copies of the First Series – the others being A, H, and Q – and the only complete copy of the Second Series. K serves as the base manuscript for Thorpe's edition of the *Catholic Homilies* (1844–6) and Clemones' edition of the First Series prefaces and supplements to *CH* I.15, 20, 23, and 24. Ker designates it as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale*.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Origin and provenance from Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 20. Godden suggests that K was at Durham probably by s. xii (*Second Series*, p. xliii).

⁴⁷ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

Described by: Ker §15; Gneuss and Lapidge §11. See also Hardwick, *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 71–82; and Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 19.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I Latin preface [Ker §15.1], Old English preface and *Ammonitio* [§15.2], 1–29 [§15.3–31], 30.151 (*cwen*) – 273 [§15.32], 31–4 [§15.33–6], 35.1–100 (*casere*) and 174 (*sind*) – 288 [§15.37], 37–9 [§15.39–41], and 40.1–185 (*gemenelican*) [§15.42];
- 1.2. Latin preface, Old English preface and Latin *Ammonitio* to *CH* II [§15.43]; *CH* II.1 [§15.44], 2 [§15.45], 3 [§15.46], 4 [§15.47], 5 [§15.48], 6 [§15.49], 7 [§15.50], 8 [§15.51], 9 [§15.52], 10 [§15.53], 11.1–24 (*he[runga]*) and 110 (*ac eode*) – 587 [§15.54], 12 [§15.55], 13 [§15.56], 14 [§15.57], 15 [§15.58], 16 [§15.59–60], 17 [§15.61–2], 18 [§15.63–4], 19 [§15.65], 20 [§15.66], 21.1–2 and 82 (*stence*) – 180 [§15.67–8], 22 [§15.69], 23 [§15.70–1], 24 [§15.72], 25 [§15.73], 26 [§15.74], 27 [§15.75–6], 28 [§15.77], 29 [§15.78], 30 [§15.79], 31 [§15.80], *De sancta Maria* [§15.81], 32 [§15.82], 33 [§15.83], 34 [§15.84–5], 35 [§15.86], 36 (lines 1–10 and 16–92 in a second hand⁴⁸) [§15.87], 37 [§15.88], 38 [§15.89], 39 [§15.90], and 40; and *Explicit* [§15.91] and *Oratio* [§15.92];
- 1.3. *SH* II.17.203–76 [= *CH* II.23.127 (*we wyllað*)–8 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 197 (*gehealtsumnysse*)] [§15.71];
- 2.3. *De temporibus anni* [§15.93];
- 3.2.1. Part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.68–80a] [*ðonne hi gegremedon*] (included in augmented *Letter for Wulfsige*) [§15.97] (not edited or collated by Skeat);
- 4.1.1. *Letter for Wulfsige* [§15.97];
- 4.4.2. *In quadragesima, de penitentia* (UK 19) [§15.95];
- 4.4.4. *Læwedum mannum is to witenne* (UK 20) [§15.96];
- 7.7. *Gebedu on Englisc* (UK 21) [§15.94];
- 7.10. *Se læssa creda* (UK 22) [§15.94];
- 7.11. *Mæsse creda* (UK 23) [§15.94];
- 7.13. *Pater noster* (UK 24) [§15.94];
- 8.1.1.2. Old English Note to *CH* I.14, Apparatus for Line 220 [§15.16];
- 8.1.2.1. Latin Note to *CH* I.pref., Apparatus for Line 134 [§15.2];
- 8.1.2.2. Latin Note to *CH* I.11, Apparatus for Line 110 [§15.13];
- 8.1.2.3. Latin Note to *CH* I.12, Apparatus for Line 83 [§15.14];
- 8.1.2.4. Latin Note to *CH* I.21, Apparatus for Line 148 [§15.23];
- 8.1.2.5.1. Latin Note to *CH* I.26, Apparatus for Line 156 [§15.28];
- 8.1.2.5.2. Latin Note to *CH* I.26, Apparatus for Line 275 [§15.28];
- 8.1.2.6. Latin Note to *CH* I.28, Apparatus for Line 40 [§15.30];
- 8.1.2.8.1. Latin Note to *CH* I.32, Apparatus for Line 57 [§15.34];
- 8.1.2.8.2. Latin Note to *CH* I.32, Apparatus for Line 63 [§15.34];
- 8.2.1.1. Old English Note to *CH* II.14.357 [§15.57];
- 8.2.2.1. Latin Note to *CH* II.4.129–30 [§15.47];
- 8.2.2.2. Latin Note to *CH* II.6.117 [§15.49];
- 8.2.2.3.1. Latin Note to *CH* II.24.128–30 [§15.72];

⁴⁸ Godden, *Catalogue*, p. 304.

- 8.2.2.3.2. Latin Note to *CH* II.24.163–4 [§15.72];
- 8.2.2.4. Latin Note to *CH* II.30.19 [§15.79];
- 8.4. Old English Note to *De temporibus anni* [2.3 above] [§15.93]; and
- 8.6. *Her is geleafa* [§15.94]

L

Cambridge, University Library, li. 1. 33 (s. xii²)

- Notes: Primarily a passional comprised of selections from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* augmented by several anonymous texts. Designated by Ker in his list of Anglo-Saxon homiliaries as an unordered collection of *sanctorale* pieces.⁴⁹
- Described by: Ker §18; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 1–19; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 25–8; Crawford, *Exameron*, pp. 4–5; Da Rold, 'li. 1. 33'; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xliii–xliv; Hardwick, *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 358–63; Luard, *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 358–63; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 35–9; Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxxv; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. xvii–xviii; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 20, 141–3 and 157–9; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 162.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.2 [Ker §18.3], 3 [§18.21], 4 [§18.11], 5 [§18.22], 26.98–100 (adapted lines following *CH* I.37.4–7) [§18.8b], 26.100 (*Æfter*) – 295 [§18.9], 27.1–122 (*gehyrsumað*) [§18.7], 29 [§18.24], 31 [§18.14], 32.172 (*þæt*) – 176 (*oferspecum*) [§18.44 (extract added marginally to a collection of aphorisms)], 37.4 (*Men*) – 7 (*beoð*) (precedes *CH* I.37.4–7 to form introduction to *CH* I.26.100–295 [§18.9]) [§18.8b], 37.1–33 (*wurdon*) and 51 (*Hwæt*) – 147 (*geswutelað*) [§18.33]; and 38.169–351 [§18.10 (*CH* I.38.170–351)];
- 1.2. *CH* II.9 [§18.25], 11.1–572 (*on*) [§18.5], 13 [§18.2], 17 [§18.12–13], 21.1–111 [§18.43], 27.1–181 [§18.15], 30 [§18.30], 32.80–225 [§18.16], and 33 [§18.17];
- 1.3. *SH* II.21.1–140, 150–508, and 510–44 (*þa*) [§18.34];
- 1.4. *TH* I:⁵⁰ Retouched *CH* II.13 [§18.2];
- 1.6.1.2.1. *Nisi granum frumenti* (first part [LS 33 (Skeat II.37)]) [§18.23];
- 3.1.3. *Heptateuch* [§18.1];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 9 [Skeat I.10] [§18.6], 13 [Skeat I.14] [§18.26], 14 [Skeat I.15] [§18.19], 15 [Skeat I.16] [§18.20], 16 [Skeat I.17] [§18.38 (not edited or collated by Skeat)], parts of 18 [Skeat I.19.1–154 and 155–258] (the latter being *Quomodo Acitofel*) [§18.27 and 28], 19 [Skeat I.20] [§18.4], 22 [Skeat II.24] [§18.37], 23 [Skeat II.25] [§18.35–6], 24 [Skeat II.26] [§18.31], 25 [Skeat II.27] [§18.39], 27 [Skeat II.29] [§18.32], 29 [Skeat II.32] [§18.29], 32 [Skeat II.36] [§18.18], and 33 [Skeat II.37] [§18.23];
- 3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [§18.28];

⁴⁹ *Catalogue*, pp. 527 and 23.

⁵⁰ For an identification of items newly revised or composed for *TH* I, see 1.4 under 'The Ælfrician Canon' above.

3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [§18.36] (pendant to acephalous/damaged LS 23 [Skeat II.25.319–811]);

8.1.2.5.1. Latin note to CH I.26, Apparatus for Line 156 [§18.9]; and

8.1.2.5.2. Latin note to CH I.26, Apparatus for Line 275 [§18.9]

Subdivisions:

Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 27–8: La (Ker §18.1–2), Lb (§18.3–4), Lc (§18.5), Ld (§18.6–7), and Le (§18.9–44);

Godden, *Second Series*, p. xlv: (as Clemoes, with Le divided into) Le1 (§18.9–20) and Le2 (§18.21–44);

[Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

M

Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 4. 6 (s. xi^{med}, New Minster, Winchester; provenance Tavistock⁵¹)

Notes: Ker designates items §21.4–35 as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* pieces covering the period from Septuagesima to the First Sunday after Pentecost.⁵²

Described by: Ker §21.4–35; Gneuss and Lapidge §18. See also Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 21–34; Hardwick, *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 442–6; Morgan, 'Ii. 4. 6'; Scragg, *Homilies*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xxi; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 20 and 76–89; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 160.

Ælfrician Contents:

1.1. CH I.3.136 (*gif*) – 190 (*unrihtwisnysse*) [Ker §21.28 (extract in composite homily⁵³), 8 [§21.2], 10 [§21.6], 11 [§21.8], 12 [§21.12], 14 [§21.18], 15 [§21.19], 16 [§21.23], 17 [§21.24], 18 (lines 1–12, lines 14–213, and extract in composite homily⁵⁴) [§21.29, 36 and 27], 19.1–107 (*urne*), 151 (*on þæra*) – 172 (*rihtlice*), 194 (*to þisum*) – 243 [§21.37], 21 [§21.31], 22 [§21.33], 28 [§21.28 (composite homily)], and 35 [§21.28 (composite homily)]];

1.2. CH II.4.298 (*syððan*) – 325 [§21.1], 5 [§21.4], 6 [§21.5], 7 [§21.9], 8 [§21.10], 12 [§21.13–14], 13 [§21.16], 14 [§21.17], 15 [§21.20], 16 [§21.21–2], 19.1–7, 189 (*arwurdā*) – 191 (*sweltan*), 204 (*be*) – 211 (*helle*), cf. 244 (*Hi*) – 245 (*biddað*) and cf. 268–9 [§21.27 and 28 (composite homilies)], 22 [§21.30], 23.126–98 [§21.3], and 39.207 (*nat*) – 217 (*mid ðam*) [§21.28 (composite homily)]];

1.3. SH I.4 [§21.11], 7.1–93 and 162–226 [§21.25], 8 [§21.26], 9 [§21.32], 10 [§21.34],

⁵¹ Origin and provenance from Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 32.

⁵² *Catalogue*, p. 527. Ker suggests that §21.4–26 and 31–34 comprise a set comparable to one found in N (§153.7–19, 21–2, and 25–33), also noting similarities between the material here and in F, O, and U (*Catalogue*, pp. 31 and 51).

⁵³ Here and below, for the various Ælfrician components of Ker §21.28, see Godden, 'Composite Homilies', pp. 59–62; and *Second Series*, pp. xlv–xlvi; and Bazire and Cross, *Homilies*, pp. 90–100.

⁵⁴ Here and below, for the various Ælfrician components of Ker §21.27, see Godden, 'Composite Homilies', pp. 58–9; and *Second Series*, p. xlv; and Bazire and Cross, *Homilies*, pp. 80–9.

- 11.139–454 [§21.27 (composite homily)], and 12 [§21.35]; and II.17.203–76 [= CH II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 8 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnysse*)] [§21.3];
- 1.4. TH I: CH I.3 [§21.28 (composite homily)], 8 [§21.2], 10 [§21.6], 11 [§21.8], 12 [§21.12], 14 [§21.18], 15 [§21.19], 16 [§21.23], Augmented 17 [§21.24], 18 (lines 1–12, lines 14–213, and extract in composite homily) [§21.29 and 36 and 27], 19 (imperfect) [§21.37], 21 [§21.31] and 22 [§21.33]; CH II.4 (imperfect) [§21.1], 5 [§21.4], 6 [§21.5], 7 [§21.9], 8 [§21.10], 12 [§21.13–14], 13 [§21.16], 14 [§21.17], 15 [§21.20], 16 [§21.21–2], 19 (extracts) [§21.27 and 28 (composite homilies)], 22 [§21.30] and 23.126–98 [§21.3] (all CH II items retouched); SH I.4 [§21.11], 7 [§21.25], 8 [§21.26], 9 [§21.32], 10 [§21.34], and 12 (Belfour 1) [§21.35]; and LS 11 [Skeat I.12] (full and composite homilies) [§21.7 and 28] and 12 [Skeat I.13] (full and composite homilies) [§21.15 and 28];
- 3.2.1. LS 11 [Skeat I.12] (full and composite homilies) [§21.7 and 28] and 12 [Skeat I.13] (full and composite homilies) [§21.15 and 28];
- 8.1.2.2. Latin note to CH I.11, Apparatus for Line 110 [§21.8];
- 8.1.2.3. Latin note to CH I.12, Apparatus for Line 83 [§21.12]; and
- 8.2.1.1. Old English Note to CH II.14.357 [§21.17]

Subdivisions:

[Clemoes, *First Series*; and Godden, *Second Series*: None;]

Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1b – Ordered collection of *temporale* pieces for the period from Septuagesima to the First Sunday after Pentecost (§21.4–35)

N

London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. ix (s. xii¹)

Notes: A set of some six anonymous and twenty-nine Ælfrician homilies for Sundays and non-saints' festivals for the Second Sunday after Epiphany to Pentecost, beginning imperfectly.⁵⁵

Described by: Ker §153; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 75–87; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 30–3; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xlvii–l; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xxii; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 604; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 48–51; Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxx; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 20; Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 150; Tite, *Cotton's Library*, p. 219; Treharne, 'Faustina A. ix'; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 199.

⁵⁵ Ker notes that §153. 7–19, 21–2, and 25–33 comprise a set comparable to one found in M (Ker §21.4–26 and 31–4), noting also the similarity of material here with that in F, U, and, particularly, O, whose contents Clemoes in fact enumerates with those of N in a single list (Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 51 and 96; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 31–2).

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.8 [Ker §153.2], 10.1–201 (*us*) [§153.10], 11.80–227 [§153.11], 12 [§153.15], 14.1–4 (*agenum*) and 38 (*rihtum*) – 220 [§153.21], 15 [§153.25], 16 [§153.29], 17.1 – App. B3.247⁵⁶ (*syrwunga*) [§153.30], 20 [§153.34], 21 [§153.35], and 22 [§153.37];
- 1.2. *CH* II.4.15 (*purh*) – 325 [§153.1], 5 [§153.7–8], 6 [§153.9], 7 [§153.12], 8 [§153.13], 12.1–492 and 580–2 [§153.16–17], 13 [§153.19], 14 [§153.22], 15 [§153.26], and 16 [§153.27–8];
- 1.3. *SH* I.4 [§153.14], 7.1–93 and 162–226 [§153.32], 8 [§153.33], 9 [§153.36], and 10 [§153.38]; and II.19.136–207, 242–5, and 250–4 [§153.31];
- 1.4. *TH* I: Augmented and Retouched *CH* I.8 [§153.2], 10 (imperfect) [§153.10], 11 (imperfect) [§153.11], 12 [§153.15], 14 (imperfect) [§153.21], Retouched 15 [§153.25], Augmented 16 [§153.29], Augmented 17 (imperfect) [§153.30], Revised 20 [§153.34], 21 [§153.35], and 22 [§153.37]; *CH* II.4 (imperfect) [§153.1], 5 [§153.7–8], 6 [§153.9], 7 [§153.12], 8 [§153.13], 12 [§153.16–17], 13 [§153.19], 14 [§153.22], 15 [§153.26], and 16 [§153.27–8] (all *CH* II items retouched); *SH* I.4 [§153.14] and I.7 [§153.32], 8 [§153.33], 9 [§153.36], and 10 [§153.38]; *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* (UK 4 / Assmann 5) [§153.20]; *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* (UK 6 / Napier 8 + *SH* II.19) [§153.31]; and *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13] [§153.18];
- 1.6.1.1.5. *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* (UK 4 / Assmann 5) [§153.20];
- 1.6.1.1.7. *Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa* (UK 6 / Napier 8 + *SH* II.19) [§153.31];
- 2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§153.31] (with *SH* II.19);
- 3.2.1. *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] [see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 190 (now lost)] and 12 [Skeat I.13] [§153.18] (neither item edited or collated by Skeat); and
- 4.3.3. *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann 2) [§153.3] (adapted to form a homily)

O

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 302 (s. xi/xii)

Notes: Designated by Ker as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale*,⁵⁷ the set covers Sundays and non-saints' festivals for the First Sunday in Advent to Wednesday in Rogationtide, with six anonymous pieces, one by Wulfstan, and some twenty-six by Ælfric.⁵⁸

Described by: Ker §56; Gneuss and Lapidge §86. See also Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 33; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. 1–li; Graham *et al.*, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 48–54; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xiv; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 20; Treharne, 'Corpus Christi College, 302'; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 128.

⁵⁶ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 542.

⁵⁷ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

⁵⁸ Ker notes the similarity of material here with that in F, M, U, and, particularly, N, whose contents Clemoes in fact enumerates with those of O in a single list (Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 51 and 96; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 31–2).

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.2 [Ker §56.6], 3 [§56.7], 4 [§56.8], 10 [§56.16], 11 [§56.18], 12 [§56.22], 13 [§56.23], 14 [§56.25], 17.45 (*to gitsunge*) – 89 [§56.29], 18 [§56.30], 19 [§56.32], 20.1–99 (*lufast*) [§56.34], 39 [§56.2], and 40 [§56.3];
- 1.2. *CH* II.5 [§56.13–14], 6 [§56.15], 7 [§56.19], 8 [§56.20], 13 [§56.23], 14 [§56.26], and 15.1–37 and 159–325 (*ðe on*) [§56.28];
- 1.3. *SH* I.4 [§56.21];
- 1.4. *TH* I: *CH* I.2 [§56.6], 3 [§56.7], 4 [§56.8], 10 [§56.16], 11 [§56.18], 12 [§56.22] and 14 [§56.25], Augmented I.17 (imperfect) [§56.29], Retouched I.18 [§56.30], I.19 [§56.32], and Revised I.20 (imperfect) [§56.34]; *CH* II.5 [§56.13–14], 6 [§56.15], 7 [§56.19], 8 [§56.20], 13 [§56.23], 14 [§56.26], and 15 [§56.28] (all *CH* II items retouched); *SH* I.4 [§56.21]; *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* [§56.24]; *Hexameron* [§56.1]; and *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] [§56.17] and 16 [Skeat I.17] [§56.4];
- 1.6.1.1.5. *Collegerunt ergo pontifices* (UK 4 / Assmann 5) [§56.24];
- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [§56.1];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] [§56.17] and 16 [Skeat I.17] [§56.4];
- 4.3.3. *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann 2) [§56.9] (adapted to form a homily)

P

[P1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115 (5135) (formerly Junius 23) (Ker: s. xi², xii^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4} or xi²; provenance Worcester); and

[P2] Lawrence, Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, Pryce C2:2 (formerly Y 104) (Ker: s. xi², xii^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4} or xi²; provenance Worcester)

Notes: A compilation of some thirty homiletic works by Ælfric, along with four anonymous texts and part of a homily by Wulfstan; the final three items are on two twelfth-century quires. Bound with S in s. xvii/xviii. See also Tr10 below.

Described by: Ker §332 and ‘Supplement’, pp. 124–5; Gneuss and Lapidge §639. See also Crawford, *Exameron*, pp. 6–7; Da Rold, ‘Hatton 115’ and ‘Pryce MS C2:2’; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. xiv–xv; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 20 and 175–80; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 36.

Ælfrician Contents:

P1

- 1.1. *CH* I.pref.57 (*menn*) – 119 (*bebodum*) [Ker §332.28], 19 [§332.2], and 20 [§332.3];
- 1.2. *CH* II.19 (with 14 lines from *SH* II.24 [§332.7]) 20 [§332.8], 21 [§332.9–10], 35 [§332.21 and 36 (extract; twelfth-century addition)], 36 [§332.22], 37 [§332.23], 38.1–217 (*geherod*) [§332.24], 39.26–219 [§332.25], and 40 [§332.26];
- 1.3. *SH* I.6.284–91 (*De cogitatione*) [§332.12] and 11a.1–54 (*Suna*) and 135–70 (intermittent correspondence⁵⁹) [§332.27]; and II.18 [§332.4], 19 [§332.6], 20 [§332.29], 22 [§332.17], 24 [§332.7], and 28 [§332.25];

⁵⁹ See Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, Apparatus II, pp. 465 and 468–70.

- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [§332.1];
 1.6.1.4.3. *Menn behofiað godre lare* (UK 12) [§332.28] (independent piece);
 2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [§332.32];
 2.1.2. *De duodecim abusiuis* [§332.31];
 2.1.4. *De septiformi spiritu* (UK 17; Napier 7) [§332.16];
 2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§332.16];
 3.1.3. *Heptateuch* [§332.30];
 3.2.1. *LS 17* [Skeat I.18] [§332.33]; Not edited or collated by Skeat: *LS 16* [Skeat I.17] [§332.5], 17 [Skeat I.18] (partially collated⁶⁰) [§332.33], 18 [Skeat I.19.155–258] (*Quomodo Acitofel*) [§332.20], and 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62] [§332.11];
 3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [§332.20];
 3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [§332.11] (independent piece);
 4.3.1. *Letter to Brother Edward* (all three sections) [Ker §332.15];
 4.3.4. *Letter to Wulfgeat* (Assmann 1) [§332.27] (adapted to form a homily);
 4.4.4. *Læwedum mannum is to witenne* (UK 20) [§332.13];
 7.3. *De cogitatione* (UK 18) [§332.12] (independent piece);
 7.9. *De infantibus* [§332.14]; and
 8.2.3.1. Latin and Old English Note to *SH* II.28 (augmentation to *CH* II.39, after line 121⁶¹) [§332.25]

P2

- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [not in Ker (would have followed §332.24)]

Subdivisions:

- Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 34–6: Pa (Ker §332.1–17 and 20), Pb (§332.21–4, MS Pryce C2:2 [our P2] and §332.25–6), and Pc (§332.27–33); plus additions: 1 (§332.18–19) and 2 (§332.34–6) [2(i) (§332.34), 2(ii) (§332.35), and 2(iii) (§332.36)];
 Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi–lxvii: Pa (Ker §332.1–20), Pb (§332.21–4, MS Pryce C2:2 [our P2] and §332.25–6), and Pc (§332.27–33);
 [Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

Q

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 188 (s. xi¹)

Notes: One of the four complete copies of Ælfric's First Series of *Catholic Homilies* – the others being A, H, and K – with additions. Ker designates it an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale*.⁶²

Described by: Ker §43; Gneuss and Lapidge §58. See also Lucas, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 59–72; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 21.

⁶⁰ See Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, p. 384.

⁶¹ Godden, *Second Series*, p. 331.

⁶² *Catalogue*, p. 527.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.pref.57 (*menn*) – 119 (*bebodum*) [Ker §43.43], 2 [§43.2], 3 [§43.3], 4 [§43.4], 5 [§43.5], 6 [§43.6], 7 [§43.7], 8 [§43.8], 9 [§43.9], 10 [§43.10], 11 [§43.11], 12 [§43.13], 13 [§43.14], 14 [§43.15], 15 [§43.16], 16 [§43.17], 17 [§43.18], 18 [§43.19], 19 [§43.20], 20.1–15 (*Mannum*) [§43.21], 22.166 (*he*) – 256 [§43.22], 23 [§43.24], 24 [§43.25], 25 [§43.26], 26 [§43.27–8], 27 [§43.29], 28 [§43.30], 29.1–269 (*hrymde*) [§43.31], 30.111 (*halige*) – 273 [§43.32 (*CH* I.30.111–273)], 31 [§43.33], 32 [§43.34], 33 [§43.36], 34 [§43.37], 35 [§43.38], 36 [§43.39–40], 37 [§43.41], 38 [§43.42], 39 [§43.43 (augmented with *CH* I.pref.57–119 and two short additions)], and 40 [§43.44];
- 1.3. *SH* I.4 [§43.12] and 11 [§43.23]; and II.18 (title and first two lines erased; remainder lost) [§43.46];
- 1.6.1.4.3. *Menn behofiað godre lare* (UK 12) [§43.43] (*CH* I.pref.57–119, here augmented with two short additions and incorporated into *CH* I.39);
- 1.6.1.2.3. *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae uirginis* (UK 8; Assmann 3) [§43.35];
- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [§43.45];
- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [§43.1];
- 1.6.1.4.3. *Menn behofiað godre lare* (UK 12) [§43.43] (extract augmented with two short additions and incorporated into *CH* I.39);
- 8.1.1.2. Old English Note to *CH* I.14, Apparatus for Line 220 [§43.15]; and
- 8.3. Latin Note to *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9) [1.6.1.3.1] [§43.45]

R

[R1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, Part I, pp. 1–270 (s. xi¹, provenance Worcester⁶³) and

[R2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, Part II, pp. 139–60 (s. xi¹, provenance Worcester) [see also F]

Notes: Ker describes the first part of R (R1, pp. 1–30 and 33–163; and R2) as a homiliary for general occasions and the second part (R1, pp. 164–270) as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* covering principal feasts from Christmas to Pentecost.⁶⁴ Part II of CCCC 178, pp. 287–457 [Ker §41B], is a copy of Benedict's *Rule* in Latin and Old English that was apparently joined to the homiliary during the time and possibly at the direction of the thirteenth-century Tremulous Hand of Worcester. Part II of CCCC 162, on the other hand, originally found between pp. 30–3 of R1, was transferred to CCCC 162 by Matthew Parker (1504–1575).⁶⁵

Described by: Ker §41; Gneuss and Lapidge §54. See also Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 548–51; Lucas, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 19–40 and 41–57; Skeat, *Lives*,

⁶³ Provenance from Gneuss and Lapidge §54; Pope dates the two main hands 'only a little before the middle of the century' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 62).

⁶⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

⁶⁵ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 549.

vol. II, p. xiv; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 21 and 129–35; and Treharne, 'Corpus Christi College, 178'.

Ælfrician Contents:

R1

- 1.1. *CH* I.pref.57 (*menn*) – 119 (*bebodum*) [Ker §41A.12], 1 [41A.1], 2 [§41A.21], 6 [§41A.22], 9 [§41A.24], 13 [§41A.20], 14.167 (*We*) – 193 (*sy*) [§41A.27], 15 [§41A.28], 16 [§41A.29], 19 [§41A.5]; 21 [§41A.31], 22.1–170 (*heortan*) [§41A.32], and 24 [§41A.4⁶⁶];
- 1.2. *CH* II.3 [§41A.23], 7 [§41A.25], 14 [§41A.26–7], 22 [§41A.30], 26.108 (*Seo grædnigys*) – 133 (*unðances*) [§41A.17 (*De auaritia* / Belfour 13)], Augmented 28 (with *SH* II.26) [§41A.10], and 39.184–98 (*englum*) [§41A.16];
- 1.3. *SH* I.11 [§41A.6] and II.18 [§41A.9], 21.1–313 and 318–676 [§41A.18], 25 [§41A.30], 26 [§41A.10], 29 [§41A.8], and 30.75–114 (extract) [§41A.10];
- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [§41A.11];
- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [§41A.2] (R1, pp. 15–30 and R2, p. 139);
- 1.6.1.4.3. *Menn behofiað godre lare* (UK 12) [Ker §41A.12] (*CH* I.pref.57–119, here as independent piece augmented with two short additions);
- 2.1.3. *De octo uitiiis et de duodecim abusiuis* [§41A.7];
- 3.2.1. Part of *LS* 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101 and 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381] (included in *De octo uitiiis*) [§41A.7]; Augmented 16 [Skeat I.17], including part of 20 [Skeat I.21.464–95] [§41A.8]; and part of 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62] (circulating independently as *De tribus ordinibus saeculi*) [§41A.14] (none edited or collated by Skeat);
- 3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [§41A.14] (independent piece);
- 3.2.4. *De uaniloquio neglegentium* [§41A.16];
- 4.3.1. *Letter to Brother Edward* (first two sections) [§41A.13];
- 7.2. *De auaritia* (Belfour 13; *CH* II.26.108–33) [§41A.17] (independent extract);
- 7.9. *De infantibus* [§41A.15];
- 8.3. Latin Note to *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9) [§41A.11]; and
- 8.7. *Her geendað seo forme boc* [§41A.19]

R2

- 1.1. *CH* I.24 [§41A.4];
- 1.3. *SH* I.11a.197–234 [§41A.3];
- 2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [§41A.3]

Subdivisions:

[Clemoes, *First Series*: None;]

Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxviii–lxxix: Ra (§41A.1–18⁶⁷) and Rb (§41A.20–32); and Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1a – Ordered collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* pieces for the period from Christmas to Pentecost (§41A.20–32); and 3 – Collection for general occasions (§41A.1–18⁶⁸)

⁶⁶ R's copy of *CH* I.24 begins on R2, p. 160, and continues on R1, pp. 33–43; Ker §41A.4 encompasses both sections.

⁶⁷ Godden does not include §41A.19 (R1, p. 163), *Her geendað seo forme boc* [8.7], in either section.

⁶⁸ Ker does not include §41A.19 in either homiliary.

S

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116 (5136) (formerly Junius 24) (s. xii¹)

Notes: Designated by Ker in his list of Anglo-Saxon homiliaries as [1] an ordered collection of *sanctorale* from 24 June – 30 November (§333.2–15) followed by [2] an unordered collection for general occasions (§333.16–26).⁶⁹ All but the last item [Ker §333.26] are arguably Ælfrician. Bound with P in s. xvii/xviii.

Described by: Ker §333; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 40–1; Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, pt 2, p. 969 [§5136]; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 67–70; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xxii; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 21; Treharne, 'Hatton 116'; Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 40; and Wilcox, *Homilies*, pp. 103–12.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. CH I.25 [Ker §333.2], 26 [§333.3–4], 27 [§333.5], 29 [§333.6], 30 [§333.7], 31 [§333.8], 32 [§333.9], 34 [§333.11], 36 [§333.12–13] and 37 [§333.14], and 38 [§333.15];
- 1.3. SH I.6⁷⁰ [§333.25] and 11a.197–234 [§333.18]; and II.21.1–150 and 645 (*mid*) – 676 [§333.21] and 29 [§333.20];
- 1.6.1.2.3. *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae uirginis* (UK 8; Assmann 3) [§333.10];
- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [§333.16];
- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [§333.17];
- 2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [§333.18];
- 2.1.3. *De octo uitiis et de duodecim abusiis* [§333.19];
- 2.1.4. *De septiformi spiritu* (UK 17; Napier 7) [§333.22];
- 2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§333.22];
- 3.2.1. Part of LS 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101] and 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381] (included in *De octo uitiis*) [§333.19]; and Augmented 16 [Skeat I.17], including part of 20 [Skeat I.21.464–95] [§333.20] (none edited or collated by Skeat);
- 4.3.1. *Letter to Brother Edward* (first section) [§333.23];
- 7.3. *De cogitatione* (UK 18) [§333.25] (independent piece);
- 7.9. *De infantibus* [§333.24]; and
- 8.3. Latin Note to *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9) [§333.16]

Subdivisions:

Clemoes treats Ker §333.1–16 as a unit (his siglum 'Sa'), including a homily on St Chad translating a section of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* [§333.1] and Ælfric's UK 9 / Assmann 4 [§333.16], which Ker groups with §333.16–26 [3.6 below]. Sb comprises Ker §333.17–26.

Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1c – Ordered collection of *sanctorale* from 24 June – 30 November (§333.2–15) and 3 – Unordered collection for general occasions (§333.16–26)

⁶⁹ *Catalogue*, p. 527. On S's influence, see also Tr10 below.

⁷⁰ *De cogitatione*, collated for SH I.6.284–91.

T

[T1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (5210) (formerly Junius 99) (Ker: s. xi^{3/4}; Gneuss; s. xi² [1064 x 1083], Worcester);

[T2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (5134; formerly Junius 22) (as above); and

[T3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (5232) (s. xi^{3/4}, Worcester; with additions on fols 139r–160r and 1v–4v [Ker §338.31–9], s. xi² and s. xi^{ex}, Worcester)

Notes: T1 and T2 comprise a two-volume homiletic collection, divided in the thirteenth century, that likely form a continuation of the ecclesiastical material in T3, one of the witnesses to Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book'; the three volumes are known as the 'Junius-Hatton Ecclesiastical Handbook and Homiliary'.

Described by: Ker §§331 [T1: §331.1–36 and 79–81; T2: §331.36⁷¹–78 and 82–5] and 338; Gneuss and Lapidge §§637–8 and 644. See also Forbes, 'Junius 121'; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xxii; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 21, 94–9, and 118–22; Swan and Forbes, 'Hatton 113' and 'Hatton 114'; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, pp. 26 and 31.

Ælfrician Contents:

T1

- 1.1. CH I.3 [Ker §331.34], 4 [§331.35], 5 [§331.36], and 19.1–10⁷² [§331.31];
- 1.2. CH II.1 [§331.33];
- 1.3. SH I.11 [§331.32] and II.21.72–161 (Wulfstan's revision and abridgement) [§331.16];
- 2.1.4. *De septiformi spiritu* (UK 17; Napier 7) [§331.8]; and
- 7.1. *Be ane munuccilde*, T1 [Ker §331.24];

T2

- 1.1. CH I.5 [§331.36], 6 [§331.37], 7 [§331.38], 9 [§331.39], 10 [§331.41], 11 [§331.42], 12 [§331.46], 13 [§331.40], 14.167 (*We*) – 193 (*sy*) [§331.49], 15 [§331.50], 16 [§331.51], 18 [§331.52], 21 [§331.57], 22 [§331.58], 25 [§331.64], 26 [§331.65–6], 27 [§331.67], 30 [§331.68], 31 [§331.69], 34 [§331.73], and 36 [§331.74–75];
- 1.2. CH II.7.1–37 and 89 (*cris*) – 179 [§331.43 (composite homily)], 9 [§331.59], 13.1–10 [§331.83], 14 [§331.48], 17 [§331.60–1], 18 [§331.62–3], and augmentation to 18 (*SH* II.23) [§331.84];
- 1.3. SH I.4 [§331.45] and II.23 [§331.84];
- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [§331.76];
- 1.6.1.3.2. *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ* (UK 10; Brotanek 1) [Ker §331.77];
- 2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [Ker §331.38];
- 3.2.1. LS 12 [Skeat I.13] [§331.47] (not edited or collated by Skeat);

⁷¹ Ker §331.36 extends from T1, fols 139v–44v, to T2, fol. 9r.

⁷² Adapted; only 'relevant' variants collated by Clemoes (*First Series*, p. 317, apparatus).

- 7.11. *Mæsse creda* (UK 23) [§331.85]; and
8.3. Latin Note to *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9) [1.6.1.3.1] [§331.76];

T3

- 1.1. *CH I*.pref.57 (*menn*) – 119 (*bebodum*) [§338.34], 14.167 (*We*) – 178 (*belyfað*) [§338.33], and 39–40 [§338.31–2];
1.2. *CH II*.29 [§338.35];
1.3. *SH I*.9 [§338.29];
1.4. *TH I*: *CH I*.14 (extract) [§338.33];
1.6.1.4.1. *Esto consentiens aduersario* (UK 11) [§338.28];
1.6.1.4.3. *Menn behofiað godre lare* (UK 12) [§338.34] (*CH I*.pref.57–119, here as independent piece);
3.2.1. Part of *LS 12* [Skeat I.13.68–86] (included in augmented *Letter for Wulfsige*) [§338.26] (not edited or collated by Skeat);
4.1.1. *Letter for Wulfsige* [§338.26];
4.1.6. *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr III) [§338.27];
4.3.4. *Letter to Wulfgeat* (Assmann 1) [§338.28];
6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum* [§338.11]; and
7.8. *Be gehadedum mannum* (*Punishment of Priests and Deacons*) [§338.8]

Subdivisions:

- Clemons, *First Series*, pp. 43–5: Tb (Ker §331.1–32), Tc (§331.33–58) [Tc1 (§331.39–40, 48–51, and 57–8), Tc2 (§331.33–8), Tc3 (§331.41–7) and Tc4 (§331.52–6)], Td (§331.59–75), and Tg (§338.31–5) [Tg1 (§338.31–2), Tg2 (§338.33), Tg3 (§338.34), and Tg4 (§338.35)];
Godden, *Second Series*, pp. li–lii: Ta (§338.9–26), Tb (§331.1–75) [Tb1 (§331.1–32), Tb2 (§331.33–6), Tb3 (§331.41–58) and Tb4 (§331.59–75)], and Tc (§331.76–8 and 82–5 and §338.27–35) [Tc1 (§338.27–35), Tc2 (§331.82–4), and Tc3 (§331.76–8 and 85)]; and
Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527: 1a – Ordered collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* pieces for the period from Christmas to Pentecost (§331.33–58); 1c – Ordered collection of *sanctorale* for the period from 1 May – 1 November (§331.60–69 and 72–5); and 3 – Collection for general occasions (§331.1–31)

U

Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 34 (369) (s. xi^{med}, probably Christ Church, Canterbury)

- Notes: Designated by Ker as an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale*,⁷³ this set of some twenty-seven homilies by Ælfric covers Sundays and non-saints' festivals for Easter to the Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost, ending imperfectly.

⁷³ *Catalogue*, p. 527. Ker notes the similarity of material here with that in F, M, N, and O (*Catalogue*, p. 51).

Described by: Ker §86; Gneuss and Lapidge §177. See also Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 21; and Treharne, 'Trinity College, B. 15. 34'.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.15 [Ker §86.1], 16 [§86.4], 17 [§86.5], 18 [§86.9], 19 [§86.10], 20 [§86.11], 21 [§86.12], 22 [§86.14], 23 [§86.19], 24 [§86.21], and 28.1–221 (*tima*) [§86.28];
- 1.2. *CH* II.16 [§86.2–3]; 23.1–125 [§86.20]; 25 [§86.25]; and 26 [§86.26];
- 1.3. *SH* I.7 (including interpolation of lines 94–161) [§86.7], 8 [§86.8], 9 [§86.13], 10 [§86.15], 11 [§86.17], and 12 [§86.18]; and II.13 [§86.22], 14 [§86.23], 15 [§86.24], and 16 [§86.27];
- 1.5. *TH* II: *CH* I.15 [§86.1], augmented 16 [§86.4], augmented 17 [§86.5], 18 [§86.9], 19 [§86.10], 20 [§86.11], 21 [§86.12], 22 [§86.14], 23 [§86.19], 24 [§86.21], and 28 (imperfect) [§86.28]; revised and augmented *CH* II.16 [§86.2–3]; 23.1–125 [§86.20]; 25 [§86.25], and 26 [§86.26]; augmented *SH* I.7 [§86.7], 8 [§86.8], 9 [§86.13], 10 [§86.15], 11 [§86.17], 12 [§86.18], 13 [§86.22], 14 [§86.23], 15 [§86.24], and 16 [§86.27]; *Modicum* [§86.6]; *De septiformi spiritu* [§86.16]; and *Be þam halgan gaste* [§86.16];
- 1.6.1.1.6. *Modicum et iam non uidebitis me* (UK 5; Assmann 6) [§86.6];
- 2.1.4. *De septiformi spiritu* (UK 17; Napier 7) [§86.16]; and
- 2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§86.16]

V

[Vla] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 (s. xi¹, possibly SE England; provenance Exeter);

[Vlb] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 1 and 2 (s. xi¹, possibly SE England; provenance Exeter); and

[V2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 99–208 and 227–354 (s. xi¹, possibly SE England), with additions at pp. 3–98 and 209–24⁷⁴ (s. xi^{3/4}, Exeter)

Notes: The relationship of CCCC 419 + 421's constituent parts bears some teasing out. Vla and Vlb, to begin with, were originally together: Matthew Parker (1504–1575) transplanted CCCC 419's frontispiece to CCCC 421, pp. 1–2, flipping the page to move the image to the recto, and inserted a thirteenth-century Psalter leaf as the frontispiece of CCCC 419, pp. ix–x.⁷⁵ Next, the original part of V2 (pp. 99–208 and 227–354) formed a companion piece to V1, which is written in the same hand.⁷⁶ Finally, the additions to V2 (pp. 3–98 and 209–24), made by three scribes active at Exeter during Leofric's episcopacy

⁷⁴ Pp. 225–6 are blank.

⁷⁵ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 528.

⁷⁶ Budny identifies a number of other homiliaries with parallels to V1 as well: D, E, X^e, the Blickling Homilies (Princeton, Princeton University Library, W. H. Scheide Collection 71 [s. x/xi]), and the Vercelli Book [Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII (s. x², SE England [St Augustine's, possibly Canterbury or Rochester])] (*Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 526).

(1046–72),⁷⁷ were probably once associated with the collection in J1 and J2: Clemoes finds it likely that in these three manuscripts ‘we have parts of a once connected collection of homiletic material, the original arrangement of which cannot now be determined’, and Bishop argues that ‘either they are companion volumes or each contains parts of two pre-existing volumes’.⁷⁸

V1 comprises ‘A handy and rather attractive portable copy of homilies on divers subjects’, with entries by Wulfstan, Ælfric and anonymous authors;⁷⁹ V2 contains seven homilies by Ælfric and Wulfstan, supplemented by another eight anonymous and Ælfrician homilies. In V2, the original set contains both selections for the Proper of the Season (*temporale* pieces, as for Pentecost) and the Common of the Saints (material appropriate for various saints’ days, such as martyrs or virgins) and general addresses; the supplementary material contains both *temporale* pieces and sermons for unspecified dates.

Of the ten volumes explicitly titled Anglo-Saxon homiliaries by Parker, V2 is the only one not to be designated as such by Ker.⁸⁰

Described by: Ker §§68–9 (and p. xli); Gneuss and Lapidge §§108–9. See also Greene and Treharne, ‘Corpus Christi College, 421’; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xxi; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 22; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, pp. 131–2.

Ælfrician Contents:

V1a

- 1.3. *SH* II.19.34–43 (*byð*) and 53–60 [Ker §68.15] and 30 [Ker §68.15 (again)];
- 1.6.1.4.4. *De uirginitate* (UK 13) [§68.15];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17] [§68.12] (not edited or collated by Skeat); and
- 4.3.3. *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann 2) [§68.15];

V1b

- 1.1. *CH* I.26 [§68.16 (extract appearing independently as *Uton biddan ealle*)];
- 7.16. *Uton biddan ealle* [§68.16];

V2

- 1.1. *CH* I.18 [§69.12], 19 [§69.13], 20 [§69.14], 21.1–240 (*miht*) [§69.15] and 22 [§69.1] (*CH* I.18–21 additions);
- 1.2. *CH* II.35 [§69.2] and 37–9 [§69.3–5];

⁷⁷ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 527–8; see also p. 538.

⁷⁸ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 22; and Bishop, ‘Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts’, p. 198; see also Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 414 [§520].

⁷⁹ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 526.

⁸⁰ The set runs as follows: *Primus liber homiliarum*: CCCC 162 (F and R2); *Secundus*: CCCC 178 (R1 and CCCC 178, Part II); *Tertius*: CCCC 188 (Q); *Quartus*: CCCC 18 (E); *Quintus*: CCCC 302 (O); *Sextus*: CCCC 421 (V1b and V2); *Septimus*: CCCC 419 (V1a); *Octauus*: CUL li. 1. 33 (L); *Nonus*: CCCC 303 (C); and *Decimus*: Trinity B. 15. 34 (U). For Ker’s list of Anglo-Saxon homiliaries, see *Catalogue*, p. 527; the omission, however, may simply be an oversight.

- 1.3. *SH* I.11 [§69.6] (addition) and II.28 [§69.5];
- 2.1.2. *De duodecim abusiuis* [§69 (now lost⁸¹)] and
- 8.2.3.1. Latin and Old English Note to *SH* II.28 [§69.5 (augmentation to *CH* II.39, after line 121)]

Subdivisions:

- Budny, *Catalogue*: a (Ker §68 [our VIa]) and b (§69 [our VIb and V2]);
- Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 47: Va (§68.16 and 1–15 and §69.6–9 and 12–15) and Vb (§69.1–5 and 10–11);
- Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

W⁸²

London, British Library, Cotton Julius E. vii (s. xiⁱⁿ, S. England; provenance Bury St Edmunds)

Notes: The base manuscript for Skeat's edition of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, W provides sermons for saints' days for the whole of the liturgical year, beginning at Christmas. Designated by Ker in his list of Anglo-Saxon homiliaries as an ordered collection of *sanctorale* pieces.⁸³ Possibly once bound with London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. ii (s. xi/xii; provenance Bury St Edmunds); if so, Robert Cotton (1571–1631) separated them before recording them independently in his 1621 catalogue, London, British Library, Harley 6018 (179).⁸⁴

Described by: Ker §162; Gneuss and Lapidge §339. See also Doane, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 51–64; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 18; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. vii–xiii; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 186.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.3. *SH* II.21.1–140 and 150–91 (*smætum*) [Ker §162.49] and 29 (extract) [§162.28];
- 2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [§162.48];
- 2.1.2. *De duodecim abusiuis* [§162 (now lost⁸⁵)]
- 3.2.1. *LS*: Ælfric's Latin and Old English prefaces to the *Lives of Saints* [§162.1–2];
LS 1–6 [Skeat I.1–6] [§162.4–9], 7 [Skeat I.7] [§162.10–11], 8–13 [Skeat I.8–14] [§162.12–18], 14 [Skeat I.15] [§162.19–20], 15–17 [Skeat I.16–18] [§162.21–3], 18 [Skeat I.19.1–154 and 155–258] (the latter being *Quomodo Acitofel*) [§162.24 and 25], 19 [Skeat I.20] [§162.26], 20 [Skeat I.21] [§162.27–8], 21 [Skeat I.22] [§162.29],
LS I.23 [§162.30 (only in Skeat; not by Ælfric)], *LS* II.23B [§162.31 (only in Skeat; not by Ælfric)], *LS* 22 [Skeat II.24] [§162.32–3], *LS* 23 [Skeat II.25] [§162.34–6],
LS 24–7 [Skeat II.26–9] [§162.37–40], *LS* II.30 [§162.41 (only in Skeat; not by

⁸¹ Parker's table of contents indicates that *De duodecim abusiuis* once started on p. 356, but it has now been lost (Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 117).

⁸² Siglum from Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. xvii.

⁸³ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

⁸⁴ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 210; and Tite, *Cotton's Library*, p. 99.

⁸⁵ The contemporary table of contents indicates that *De duodecim abusiuis* once followed the now-imperfect *SH* II.21 (Ker §162.49; see also Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 63).

- Ælfric)], *LS* 28–9 [Skeat II.31–2] [§162.42–3], *LS* II.33 [§162.44 (only in Skeat; not by Ælfric), and *LS* 30–2 [Skeat II.34–6] [§162.45–7];
3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [§162.25];
3.2.3. *De tribus ordinibus saeculi* [§162.36]; and
8.5.1. Latin Note to *LS* 28 [Skeat II.31] [§162.1–2 and 3–47]

[for *Xa–k*, see below⁸⁶]

*Z*⁸⁷

[*Za*] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 (942) (Ker: s. xi²; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4} or xi²); and

[*Zb*⁸⁸] London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, fols 18r–40v (Ker: s. xi²; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4} or xi²)

Described by: Ker 344; Gneuss and Lapidge §657. See also Da Rold, ‘Laud Misc. 509’; and Morgan, ‘Vespasian D. xxi’.

Ælfrician Contents:

Za

- 1.3. *SH* I.11a.1–54 (*Suna*) and 135–70 (intermittent correspondence⁸⁹) [Ker §344.3];
3.1.3. *Heptateuch* [§344.1a–g and 2];
4.3.2. *Letter to Sigeweard (Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo)* [§344.4];
4.3.4. *Letter to Wulfgeat (Assmann 1)* [§344.3]; and
4.4.5. *Witan sceoldon smeagan* [§344.4]

Xa

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190

- (Part I – pp. iii–xii and 1–294: Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: s. xi¹, possibly Worcester; provenance Exeter by s. xi^{med}; Exeter additions [pp. 130–1 and 292–4] s. xi^{med}–xi²;
Part II – pp. 319⁹⁰–50 and 365–420: Ker and Gneuss: s. xi^{med};
Part II, additions – pp. 295–318 and 351–64: Ker: s. xi²; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4}, Exeter; provenance Exeter)

Described by: Ker §45; Gneuss and Lapidge §§59–59.5. See also Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 22; and Treharne, ‘Corpus Christi College, 190’.

⁸⁶ This ordering follows Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. xvii and 86 n. 5.

⁸⁷ Siglum from Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. xvii.

⁸⁸ While for the sake of consistency the two parts of *Z* receive distinct designations, only *Za* contains Ælfrician material.

⁸⁹ See Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, Apparatus II, pp. 465 and 468–70.

⁹⁰ While Wulfstan’s *De ecclesiasticis gradibus* continues on to p. 319, quire 3 (part of the older nucleus of Part II) actually begins on that page; quire 2 (part of the slightly later additions) ends with p. 318. Ker states: ‘The writer of quire 2 used the originally blank recto of the first leaf of quire 3 (p. 319) to take an overflow of text’ (*Catalogue*, p. 71).

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.2. CH II.36 [Ker §45B.18];
- 4.1.1. *Letter for Wulfsige* [§45B.17];
- 4.1.3. *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2) [§45A];
- 4.1.4. *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 3) [§45A];
- 4.1.5. *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr II) [§45B.1–2];
- 4.1.6. *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr III) [§45B.3];
- 6.3. *Decalogus Moysi* [§45A⁹¹] (extract);
- 6.5. *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* [§45A];
- 6.14. *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis* [§45A];
- 6.15. *De doctrina et exemplis praepositorum* [§45A];
- 6.16. *Isidori de sacerdotibus* [§45A];
- 6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum* [§45A];
- 6.18. *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur* [§45A];
- 6.21. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis* [§45A]; and
- 7.6. *Expositio officii* [§45A]

Subdivisions:

Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 541–3: a – Part I (pp. i–xii and 1–294 [including Ker §45A.a–d]), b – Part II, added portion, first section (pp. 295–319), c – Part II, original portion, first section (pp. 320–50 [§45B.1–5]), d – Part II, added portion, second section (pp. 351–64), e – Part II, original portion, second section (pp. 365–420 [including §45B.6–16]), and f – back endleaves (pp. xiii–xvi); [Clemoes, *First Series*; Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

Xb

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 320, fols 117r–170r

Described by: Ker §58; Gneuss and Lapidge §90. See also Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 24 and 105–9.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 4.4.2. *In quadragesima, de penitentia* (UK 19) [Ker §58a]

Xc

London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x (Ker: fols 3r–101v, s. xi²; fols 102r–151v, s. xii¹; Gneuss: fols 3r–101v, s. xi² or xi^{3/4})

Described by: Ker §154; Gneuss and Lapidge §331. See also Da Rold and Swan, ‘Faustina A. x’; Planta, *Catalogue*, pp. 604–5; and Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 22 and 160–4.

⁹¹ The page numbers of items here and below from Ker §45A, while not specified by Ker, are delineated in the respective entries in ‘The Ælfrician Canon’ above.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.2. *CH* II.9 (adapted extracts corresponding to lines 26–8, 57, 71–80, and 171) [Ker §154A.4];
- 2.4.1. *Grammar* [§154A.1]; and
- 2.4.2. *Glossary* [§154A.1]

Xd

London, British Library, Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2 (Ker: s. xiⁱⁿ and xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xiⁱⁿ and xi^{med}, from fol. 62, possibly Worcester; provenance Worcester)

Notes: Ker observes that ‘Ff. 1–61 are in a late type of square Anglo-Saxon minuscule which looks about 40 years older than the rest of the manuscript’.⁹²

Described by: Ker §182; Gneuss and Lapidge §359. See also Da Rold, ‘Otho C. I, vol. 2’; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 365; Thomas, *Catalogus*, pp. 71–2; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, pp. 211–12.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.3. *SH* II.20.1–268 (æt[*eowde*]) [Ker §182.7];
- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [§182.5] (portion included in *De creatore et creatura*);
- 2.1.6. *De creatore et creatura* (UK 14) [§182.5];
- 2.1.7. *De sex etatibus huius seculi* (UK 15) [§182.5]; and
- 3.2.1. Part of *LS* 1 [Skeat I.1.20–49(?)] [§182.5] (possibly included in *De creatore et creatura*; not edited or collated by Skeat)

Xe

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols 2r–173v (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{med}, Christ Church, Canterbury)

Described by: Ker §186; Gneuss and Lapidge §363. See also Garmonsway, *Colloquy*, p. 2; Planta, *Catalogue*, pp. 31–2; Roberson and Da Rold, ‘Tiberius A. iii’; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 19; and Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, pp. 22, 110–17 and 168–74.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.2. *CH* II.14 (‘a very corrupt and interpolated text’⁹³) [Ker §186.16];
- 2.3. *De temporibus anni* [§186.13];
- 2.4.3. *Colloquy* [§186.11]; and
- 4.1.6. *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan*, §§1–62 (Fehr III) [§186.29] (ending imperfect)

⁹² *Catalogue*, p. 237.

⁹³ Godden, *Second Series*, p. 137.

Xf

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4}, probably mid-1060s, possibly Old Minster, Winchester)

Described by: Ker §199; Gneuss and Lapidge §378. See also Kato, 'Tiberius C. vi'; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 567; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 131.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.1.4. *De septiformi spiritu* (UK 17; Napier 7) [Ker §199b];

2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§199b]

Xg

London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xxii (s. xii^{ex}/ xiiiⁱⁿ, Rochester⁹⁴)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss;] Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 125; Morgan, 'Vespasian A. xxii'; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 437; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, pp. 108–9; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 23; and Wilcox, *Wulfstan Texts*, pp. 46–52.

Ælfrician Contents:

1.1. *CH* I.1 and 24.1–15 (*dædbote*)

Xh

London, British Library, Harley 3271 (s. xi¹, New Minster, Winchester?)

Described by: Ker §239; Gneuss and Lapidge §435. See also *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. III, p. 13.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.1.1. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* [Ker §239.7];

2.1.5. *Be þam halgan gaste* (UK 16; Napier 8) [§239.20];

2.4.1. *Grammar* [§239.5];

4.3.2. *Letter to Sigeweard (Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo)* [§239.21–2];

4.4.1. *Hieronimus se wurþfulla* [§239.22];

4.4.3. *Be þam Iudeiscum* [§239.21]

Xi

London, Lambeth Palace 487 (s. xii/xiii⁹⁵)

Described by: Ker §282 (no delineation of contents); [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Clayton, *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 14–16; James, *Lambeth Palace*, p. 50; James and Jenkins, *Lambeth Palace*, vol. II, pp. 673–7; Swan, 'Lambeth

⁹⁴ Morgan, 'Vespasian A. xxii'.

⁹⁵ Swan, 'Lambeth Palace, 487'.

Palace, 487'; Todd, *Catalogue*, p. 62; and Wilcox, *Wulfstan Texts*, pp. 72–8.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. CH I.14.164 (*peahhwæðere*) – 192 (*nihton*) and 22;
- 2.1.3. *De octo uitiiis et de duodecim abusiuis*;
- 3.2.1. Part of LS 12 [Skeat I.13.98–101] and 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381] [not edited or collated by Skeat; included in *De octo uitiiis*]

Xj

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 943 (Ker: s. x/xi–xiⁱⁿ; Gneuss and Lapidge: after 959, probably Christ Church, Canterbury, with additions s. x/xi–xi¹, Sherborne; provenance Sherborne by s. x/xi, France s. xi²)

Described by: Ker §364; Gneuss and Lapidge §879. See also Bibliothèque nationale, 'Latin 943'; and Hussey, *Exeter Manuscripts*, pp. 159–90.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.6.1.3.2. *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesie* (UK 10; Brotanek 1) [Ker §364a]

Xk

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 7585 (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss and Lapidge: s. ix^{2/4} or ix², NE France, in England [probably St Augustine's, Canterbury] by s. x²; Ælfric extracts, s. xi¹), fol. 238^v

Described by: Ker §366; Gneuss and Lapidge §889. See also Bibliothèque nationale, 'Latin 7585'.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.3. SH II.21.104–17, 122–4 (*þor*), 126–7, 134–5 (*stala*), 140 (*and he is Oðon gehaten*) and 150–2 (*broðor*) [Ker §366a]

fa

[f^{a(1)}] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, Part II, fols 1r–2v and 7r–10r (s. xii); and

[f^{a(2)}] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, Part II, fols 3r–6v and 11r–29v (s. xii)

Notes: Designated by Ker as a possible ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* pieces,⁹⁶ fragments of six quires survive of this manuscript, primarily containing Ælfrician material. Matthew Parker (1504–1575) had f^{a(1)} bound together with f^{a(2)}, the *Vision of Leofric* (fols 48v–50v [Ker §64]), and other fragments prior to his death in 1575.

⁹⁶ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

Described by: Ker §§62–3; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge⁹⁷]; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 50–2; Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lvi–lvii; Graham *et al.*, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 67–73; James, *Corpus Christi*, vol. II, pp. 199–204; Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxxvii; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 23; and Treharne, ‘Corpus Christi College, 367’.

Ælfrician Contents:

f^{a(1)}

2.3. *De temporibus anni* [Ker §62]

f^{a(2)}

- 1.1. CH I.15.118 (*fram þrowunge*) – 178 (*stanas on[cneow]*) [§63.1], 19.87 (*ure*) – 167 (*abryð*) [§63.3], 30.1–59 (*gast*) and 113 (*Be*) – 273 [§63.4], 31.1–24 (*þæs*) and 77 (*on*) – 135 (*þearle*) [§63.5], and 34.1–67 (*se*) and 161 (*gafol*) – 203 (*micele*) [§63.9] [all imperfect];
- 1.2. CH II.16.1–96 (*sylfne*) and 208–23 (*laðan*) [§63.2] and 32.1–72 (*æt*) and 190 (*swiðe*) – 225 [§63.8];
- 1.4. TH I: CH [I.15 (§63.1),⁹⁸] [I.19 (§63.3),] and retouched II.16 [§63.2] (all imperfect); and
- 3.2.1. LS 25 [Skeat II.27] [§63.7] (not edited or collated by Skeat)

Subdivisions:

Clemones, *First Series*, pp. 50–2: f^aa (Ker §63.4–10) and f^ab (§63.1–3); [Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

fb

Cambridge, Jesus College 15 (Q. A. 15), fols i–x and 1r–10v (binding leaves) (s. xi¹; provenance Durham)

Notes: Fragments of five homilies by Ælfric. A palimpsest, with the text largely erased and replaced with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts, the leaves were trimmed and used in the medieval binding of a thirteenth-century copy of Peter Lombard’s *Sententiae*. Designated by Ker as an unordered homiletic collection of *temporale* pieces.⁹⁹

Described by: Ker §74; Gneuss and Lapidge §122. See also Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 23.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. CH I.18.197 ([*git*] *sunge*) – 213¹⁰⁰ [Ker §74.4] and 19.1–15 (*us*) and 31 (*þæt we*) – 34 (*witodlice*) ‘partly legible’¹⁰¹ [§74.5];

⁹⁷ Gneuss and Lapidge §100 discusses only fols 45r–52v of CCCC 367, Part II.

⁹⁸ The versions of CH I.15 and 19 in this manuscript were not newly revised or composed for TH I.

⁹⁹ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

¹⁰⁰ MS witness acknowledged by Clemones (*First Series*, p. xx), but readings not apparently collated (*First Series*, apparatus to pp. 317–24).

¹⁰¹ Clemones, *First Series*, p. 325, apparatus; for additional readings, see Kleist, *The Digital Ælfric*.

- 1.2. CH II.19 (lines 31–212 ‘erased and mainly illegible’¹⁰²) [§74.2], 22 (‘a few words legible’¹⁰³) [§74.3], 26.110 (*Pu mann*) – 133 (*unðances*), incorporated into II.19 [§74.2 (*De auaritia* / Belfour 13)], and 28.1–22 (*folc*);¹⁰⁴
 1.3. SH I.11.526–74 (imperfect) [§74.1]; II.24 [§74.2]; and II.25(c).8 (*me etan*) – 10 (*we doð*) (extract in imperfect fragment) [§74.3]; and
 7.2. *De auaritia* (Belfour 13) [§74.2] (embedded in a copy of CH II.19)

fc

[f^{c(1)}] New Haven, Yale University Library, Osborn Collection, fragment (s. xiⁱⁿ);

[f^{c(2)}] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng.th.c.74 (s. xiⁱⁿ);

[f^{c(3)}] Cambridge, Queens’ College, Horne 75 (s. xiⁱⁿ); and

[f^{c(4)}] Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Poole 10 (s. xiⁱⁿ)

Notes: Designated by Ker as a possible homiletic *sanctorale* collection,¹⁰⁵ these fragments appear to constitute the remnants of a complete set of Ælfrician *Lives of Saints*, preceded or followed by a selection of items from Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*.¹⁰⁶ Godden concludes, however, that ‘There is nothing to show where the MS was written or kept.’¹⁰⁷

Described by: Ker §81 (for f^{c(3)}) and ‘Supplement’, p. 123; Gneuss and Lapidge §146. See also Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 24.

Ælfrician Contents:

f^{c(1)}

- 1.1. CH I.14.34 (*ærist*) – 113 (*syððan*);

f^{c(2)}

- 1.1. CH I.17.79 (*he*) – 89 and 20.1–39 (*gehyred*);

f^{c(3)}

- 3.2.1. LS 21 [Skeat I.22, lines 97 (*and þam*) – 213 (*þæt þu*)] [Ker §81.1], 22 [Skeat II.24, lines 83 ([*sy*]rian lande) – 190 ([*geleaf*]a on þ[ære])] [Ker §81.2], and 23 [Skeat II.25, lines 1–8] [Ker §81.3] (all imperfect; none edited or collated by Skeat); and

¹⁰² Godden, *Second Series*, p. 180.

¹⁰³ Godden, *Second Series*, p. 206; see also Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 90.

¹⁰⁴ Ker §74.2–3 discuss f^b’s imperfect copies of CH II.19 and 28; for a fuller discussion of the portions of CH II.22 and 26 as well, see Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 89–90; Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 53–4; and Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

¹⁰⁵ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

¹⁰⁶ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 55.

¹⁰⁷ Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 55.

f^{c(4)}

- 3.2.1. *LS* 21 [Skeat I.22, lines 213 (*godum*) – 253 (*ælmihhtigan*)] and 22 [Skeat II.24, lines 0 (*III K[A]L[ENDA]S*) – 82 (*sumum*)] (both imperfect; neither edited or collated by Skeat)

fd

Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35 (Ker: s. xi¹–xi²; Gneuss: fols 1r–3v and 7r [Ker §117.1 and 4–5], s. xi¹; fols 4r–6v [Ker §117.2], s. xi^{med}; fol. 6v [Ker §117.3], s. xi²; all fragments provenance Gloucester)

Notes: Designated by Ker as a possible homiliary – specifically, an ordered collection of *sanctorale* pieces¹⁰⁸ – these fragments preserve parts of three Ælfrician homilies and two anonymous texts.

Described by: Ker §117; Gneuss and Lapidge §262. See also Da Rold, ‘Gloucester’; Eward, *Catalogue*, p. 5; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xiv; and Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 23.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.26.292 (*Cuð*) – 295 [Ker §117.4];
- 1.2. *CH* II.24.1–50 (parts of lines preserved) [§117.5]; and
- 3.2.1. *LS* 20 [Skeat I.21] [§117.1] and *LS* II.23B [§117.2] (the latter only in Skeat; not by Ælfric)

fe

f^{e(1)} The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 133. D. 22 (21) (s. xi¹); and

f^{e(2)} Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket Acc. 1996/12 (s. xi¹) (formerly Copenhagen, Det Arnamagnæanske Institut)¹⁰⁹

f^{e(3)} Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, Aftagne pergamentfragmenter 637–64, 669–71, and 674–98 (s. xi¹)

Notes: The Dutch manuscript preserves fragments of three Ælfrician homilies, while parts of six more appear in the Copenhagen binding strips. Despite its fragmentary nature, Ker counts the manuscript as a possible homiliary – specifically, an ordered homiletic collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale* pieces – observing the sermons found here elsewhere appear consecutively only in the four complete copies of Ælfric’s First Series of *Catholic Homilies*: A, H, K, and Q.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

¹⁰⁹ As Gneuss and Lapidge §811.5; the Institut returned the fragments to the Kongelige Bibliotek in 1996 (Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints’ Lives*, p. 39).

¹¹⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 527 and 155.

Described by: Ker §118 (f^{e(1)} only) and §424¹¹¹ (f^{e(3)} only); Gneuss and Lapidge §§830, 811.5, and 816.6. See also Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 35–8, 39–41, and 43–51; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', pp. 24 and 25.

Ælfrician Contents:

f^{e(1)}

- 1.1. CH I.27.236 (*an cnapa*) – 242 (*befran*) (fragment) [Ker §118.1¹¹²]; 28.9 (*healfe*) – 15 (*þ[a]*), 41 (*cwearter[ne]*) – 50 (*sc[e]am[elican]*) and 61 (*þan ðe*) – 70 (*woruld[licere]*) (fragments) [§118.2¹¹³]; and 29.10 (*ure*) – 20 (*martis*), 21 ([*mar*]ti – 30 (*gode*), 31 ([*fæde*]r) – 42 ([*er*]cedicon), 41¹¹⁴ (*man[num]*) – 50 (*geax[ode]*), 51 (*þrowunge ... fot[þweale]*), and 72 (*Sixtus – swurdes e[cge]*) (imperfect) [§118.3¹¹⁵];

f^{e(2)}

- 1.1. CH I.22.254–5 (*wealdend him s[ende þa seofonfe]aldan gif[e his gastes] se þe leofað*);¹¹⁶
- 1.3. SH I.11.title and 1–2 ([*Sermo ad p*]opulum in [octauis Pentecosten dicendus. We wyllað e]low secga[n sume swutelunge nu be þam halgum tidum ðe we h]ealdað) (imperfect),¹¹⁷ 10 (*modor*) – 14 (*brohton*),¹¹⁸ 16 (*o[n ðam]*) – 22 ([*M*]aria),¹¹⁹ 33 (*Lengtene*) – 40 (*E[asterdæge]*),¹²⁰ 49 ([*folgod*]on) – 53 (*upstige*),¹²¹ and 55 ([*mæ*]r[*licum*]) – 62 (*ðær[e]*),¹²² and

f^{e(3)}

- 1.1. CH I.26.226 (*wearð*) – 239 (*bene*) and 247 (*wolde*) – 260 (*astah*) (fragment);¹²³ 35.100 ([*ca*]sere) – 104 (*come*) and 125 (*Byrþenmælum*) – 130 (*cwylmīað*)¹²⁴ and 193 (*swiðlicum*) – 212 (*hwile*) and 219 (*gregorius*) – 236 (*cweðende*) (imperfect);¹²⁵ 36.7 (*se*) – 17 (*micelre*) and 34 (*beoð*) – 44 (*bodedo[n]*),¹²⁶ 110 (*and þa*) – 113 (*fela*) and 136

¹¹¹ Number supplied by Blockley, 'Further Addenda', p. 84.

¹¹² Leaf 1, strips 1–2, recto. On CH I readings in f^{e(1)}, see also Clemoes' apparatus (*First Series*, pp. 408, 410–12, and 418–20).

¹¹³ Leaf 1, strips 1–2, verso; leaf 2, strips 3–5.

¹¹⁴ Strip 7 ends with line 42 and strip 8 begins with line 41 (Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, p. 37), no doubt due to irregular edges in these fragments.

¹¹⁵ Leaf 7, strips 6–8; and leaf 8, strip 9 (Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, pp. 36–7; Ker labels them as leaves 3–4 [*Catalogue*, p. 155]).

¹¹⁶ Fragments 1/2, recto (Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, p. 40; see also Fausbøll, 'More Ælfric Fragments', p. 304).

¹¹⁷ Fragments 1/2.

¹¹⁸ Fragments 3/4/5, recto.

¹¹⁹ Fragment 6, recto.

¹²⁰ Fragments 2/1, verso.

¹²¹ Fragments 5/4/3, verso.

¹²² Fragment 6, verso (Bremmer and Dekker, *Saints' Lives*, p. 40; see also Fausbøll, 'More Ælfric Fragments', pp. 304–6).

¹²³ Aftagne pergamentfragmenter 661–2, 660, and 663 [fol. 1rv]. On CH I readings in f^{e(3)}, see also Clemoes' apparatus (*First Series*, pp. 396–7, 479–80, 482–3, 486–7, 489–91, 495, 497, and 505).

¹²⁴ Aft. perg. 645 [fol. 2rv].

¹²⁵ Aft. perg. 637, 642, 641, 638, and 640 [fol. 3rv].

¹²⁶ Aft. perg. 646, 643, and 647 [fol. 4rv].

(*becomon*) – 140 (*pingrædene*),¹²⁷ and 158 (*Eadige*) – 258 (*leogende for*) (imperfect),¹²⁸ and 37.17 (*mid hospe*) – 261 (*gecorenan*) (imperfect)¹²⁹

fh

London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. xviii, fol. 131rv (s. xi^l)

Described by: Ker §174 (no delineation of contents); Gneuss and Lapidge §352. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 365; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 69; and Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 24.

Ælfrician Contents:

1.1. CH I.29.47 (*Eac*) – 84 (*on*)

fi

[^fi⁽¹⁾] London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, fols 1r–28v, 31r–50v, 52r–54v,¹³⁰ 56r–57v, 59r–60v, 65rv, and 67rv (s. xi^l) [see also Y15 below]; and

[^fi⁽²⁾] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Q. e. 20 (15606) (s. xi^l)

Notes: A collection of Ælfrician saints' lives augmented by anonymous works and one homily by Wulfstan. Designated by Ker as an unordered homiletic collection of *sanctorale* pieces.¹³¹ After the Ashburnham House fire of 1731 which damaged and disordered the leaves of the manuscript, one leaf found its way into the hands of the antiquarian Browne Willis (1682–1760). On 15 November, three weeks after the fire, Willis in turn gave it to Thomas Hearne (1678–1735), a librarian at the Bodleian; thereafter, it was catalogued as Rawlinson Q. e. 20.¹³²

Described by: Ker §177A; Gneuss and Lapidge §355. See also Lee, 'Two Fragments'; Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. III, p. 445 [§15606]; Napier, 'A Fragment'; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 365; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. xv–xvii; Swan, 'Ælfric as Source', p. 23; Tite, *Cotton's Library*, p. 151; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 190.

¹²⁷ Aft. perg. 639 [fol. 5rv].

¹²⁸ Aft. perg. 664, 670, 658, 669ab [two fragments], 659, and 657 [fol. 6rv]; and 692, 690, 697, 680, 685, 653, and 695–6 [fol. 7rv].

¹²⁹ Aft. perg. 684, 656, 679, 652, 682, and 650 [fol. 8rv]; 688, 687, 681, 655, 651, and 683 [fol. 9rv]; 686, 654, 648–9, and 676 [fol. 10rv]; 675, 678, and 677 [fol. 11rv]; and 691, 694, 698, 689, 693, and 674 [fol. 12rv].

¹³⁰ Where Ker tentatively includes fol. 54rv in this collection, a more recent discussion of fols 52rv and 54rv by Stuart Lee ('Two Fragments') identifies them as fragments related to Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (LS 2 [Skeat I.2], 5 [Skeat I.5], and LS II.33 [the last only in Skeat; not written by Ælfric]) and reconstructs them using the relevant passages from Skeat.

¹³¹ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

¹³² Napier, 'A Fragment', p. 189; and Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 229.

Ælfrician Contents:

fi⁽¹⁾

- 1.1. CH I.1.126 (*on*) – 207 (*swa*) and 252 (*discipuli*) – 283 (*geleafan*) [Ker §177A.1] and 25 [§177A.24 (destroyed)];
- 1.2. CH II.31 [§177A.14–15 (destroyed)];
- 1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron* [Ker §177A.2];
- [3.1.3. *Heptateuch* [Ker §177A.19; no verses by Ælfric];]
- 3.2.1. LS 2 [Skeat I.2] [§177A.9], 3 [Skeat I.3] [§177A.3], 4 [Skeat I.4] [§177A.5], 7 [Skeat I.7] [§177A.7–8], 19 [Skeat I.20] [§177A.23], LS I.23 [§177A.13 (only in Skeat; not by Ælfric)], LS II.23B [§177A.12 (only in Skeat; not by Ælfric)], 29 [Skeat II.32] [§177A.21], and LS II.33 [§177A.10 (only in Skeat; not by Ælfric)].
- Not edited or collated by Skeat: LS 5 [Skeat I.5] [§177A.6], 6 [Skeat I.6] [§177A.4 (destroyed)], 7 [Skeat I.7] [§177A.7 (§177A.8 collated)], 13 [Skeat I.14] [§177A.22 (destroyed)], 20 [Skeat I.21] [§177A.20], and 28 [Skeat II.31] [§177A.14–15 (destroyed)]; and

fi⁽²⁾

3.2.1. LS

Not edited or collated by Skeat: fi⁽²⁾ [Ker §177A.3]: LS 3 [Skeat I.3]

fk

Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, fols 4r–92v (formerly fols ‘23r–234v’¹³³) (s. xi^{med})

Notes: An unordered *sanctorale* collection¹³⁴ drawing almost entirely on Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*.

Described by: Ker §222; Gneuss and Lapidge §406. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 428; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, pp. xviii–xxi; Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 23; and Tite, *Cotton’s Library*, p. 167.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. CH I.3 [Ker §222.11], 4 (destroyed) [§222.3], 5.1–26 (*bufon*) and 70 (*timan hi*) – 189 [§222.12], 13 (destroyed) [§222.36], 26.144 (*ætbærst*) – 194 (*for þan he*) [§222.1], 27 (imperfect; part of each leaf remains) [§222.44], 29.89 (*geþylde*) – 296 [§222.23], 30.190 (*wæs*) – 245 (*Ða*) [§222.35], 31.1–31 (*hæðengyl[d]*) and 179 (*7 agrof*)–227 (*lofsangum*) [§222.6], 34.1–20 (*Hi*) [§222.19], 37.1–43 (*micclum*) and 90 (*asendon*) – 134 (*yl[can]*) [§222.24], and 38.169 (*PASSIO*) – 187 (*hine*) [§222.22];
- 1.2. CH II.2.1–38 (*ða eft*) and 87 (*Ða geseah*) – 213 (text defective at edges of leaves) [§222.10], 9.1–21 (*lifes*) [§222.18], 11.1–205 (*benedictus*) and 312 (*andaga*) – 366 (*he of*) and 500 (*his*) – 587 [§222.16], 17.3–135 [§222.4–5], 18 (losses at edges of leaves) [§222.20], 27.58 (*and*) – 111 (*ða*) survive; lines 182–231 omitted [§222.2], 32 (losses at edges of leaves) [§222.15], 33.154 (*Bibilonia*) – 203 (*tempel*) and 261 (*heora*) – 282 (only partly legible) [§222.7], 34 (losses at edges of leaves)

¹³³ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 293.

¹³⁴ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 527.

- [§222.17], 36.1–37 (*geripe*) [§222.39], 38.83–247 (partly legible) [§222.40], and 40.1–74 (partially legible) [§222.41];
- 1.6.1.3.1. *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* (UK 9; Assmann 4) [§222.38];
- 3.2.1. *LS* 3 [Skeat I.3] [§222.43], 5 [Skeat I.5] [§222.13], 14 [Skeat I.15] [§222.8–9], 21 [Skeat I.22] [§222.26], part of 23 [Skeat II.25.1–204] [§222.45 (§222.46 destroyed)], 24 [Skeat II.26] [§222.31], 25 [Skeat II.27] [§222.37], *LS* II.30 [§222.29 (not by Ælfric; partly collated by Skeat)], 29 [Skeat II.32] [§222.42], and 30 [Skeat II.34] [§222.25].
- Not edited or collated by Skeat: *LS* 7 [Skeat I.7] [§222.47–8 (destroyed)], 8 [Skeat I.8–9] [§222.49–50 (both destroyed)], 9 [Skeat I.10] [§222.51 (destroyed)], 13 [Skeat I.14] [§222.30 (destroyed)], parts of 18 [Skeat 19.1–154 and 155–258 (the latter being *Quomodo Acitofel*)] [§222.52 and 53 (destroyed)], 19 [Skeat I.20] [§222.54 (destroyed)], 22 [Skeat II.24] [§222.27–8 (destroyed)], part of 23 [Skeat II.25.205–862] [§222.46 (destroyed)], 26 [Skeat II.28] [§222.33 (destroyed)], 27 [Skeat II.29] [§222.34 (destroyed)], *LS* II.30 [§222.29 (not by Ælfric; partly collated by Skeat)], and 32 [Skeat II.36] [§222.32 (destroyed)];
- 3.2.2. *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [§222.53 (destroyed)]; and
- 8.1.2.5.1. Note to *CH* I.26, Apparatus for Line 156 [§222.1]

fl

London, British Library, Harley 2110, fols 5rv* and 4rv* (s. xi)

Described by: Ker §235 (no delineation of contents); Gneuss and Lapidge §428. See also *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. II, pp. 501–2; and Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’.

Ælfrician Contents:

- 1.1. *CH* I.3.169 (*pin*) – 202 (*ecness*) and 4.2 (*IOHANNES*) – 33 (*wearð*)

fm

[f^{m(1)}] Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2981, no. 16 (s. xiⁱⁿ); and

[f^{m(2)}] London, British Library, Harley 5915, fol. 13 (s. xiⁱⁿ)

Notes: Designated by Ker as a possible homiliary comprising an ordered collection of *temporale* and *sanctorale*,¹³⁵ the fragments preserve parts of two Ælfrician First Series homilies. f^{m(1)} forms Specimen 16 of volume I of the ‘Calligraphical Collection’ of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703); pasted into the volume, only the recto can be read. f^{m(2)}, once used as a pastedown by a binder, was one of several binding-scrap collections collected as specimens by John Bagford (1650/51–1716).¹³⁶

¹³⁵ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

¹³⁶ See Gatch, ‘Bagford, Bookseller’ and ‘Bagford as a Collector’; and Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 314–15.

Described by: Ker §243; Gneuss and Lapidge §442. See also *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. III, p. 308 [single entry for Harley 5914–39]; and Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 25.

Ælfrician Contents:

f^{m(1)}

1.1. CH I.28.82 (*swiþost*) – 91 (*sacerdum*) and 106 (*sume*) – 115 (*wurðmyntum*) [§243.2].

f^{m(2)}

1.1. CH I.20.127 (*þæt ðæt*) – 139 (*geflæsçamod*) [§243.1]

f^p

[f^{p(1)}] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 (5196) (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{med}, SE England)]; and

[f^{p(2)}] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86 (5197) (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{med}, SE England)]

Notes: Fragments of a collection of homilies, now comprising half-a-dozen anonymous works and a homily by Ælfric. Designated by Ker as an unordered homiliary containing *temporale* and *sanctorale* pieces.¹³⁷ Divided into two volumes (between fols 35v and 36r) in the post-medieval period.¹³⁸

Described by: Ker §336; Gneuss and Lapidge §642. See also Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 24.

Ælfrician Contents:

[f^{p(1)}]

1.2. CH II.7 [Ker §336.5]

f^l

Oxford, Brasenose College, Latham M. 6. 15 (s. xi^l)

Described by: Ker §352; Gneuss and Lapidge §670. See also Swan, ‘Ælfric as Source’, p. 25; and ‘Lingua’.¹³⁹

Ælfrician Contents:

1.1. CH I.1.68 (*sette*) – 102 (*heofen*)

¹³⁷ Ker describes his second category of homiliaries as ‘items of Temporale or of Sanctorale in disorder’ (*Catalogue*, p. 527), but this heading should properly read ‘and/or’, as certain collections listed here (including f^p) contain both.

¹³⁸ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 411.

¹³⁹ I am indebted to Ms Sophie Floate of Brasenose College Library for this reference. Further cataloguing of the Latham collection is currently underway at the Library; see <https://www.bnc.ox.ac.uk/current-students/student-services/library/usage/223-miscellaneous/592-antiquarian-cataloguing-at-brasenose> (accessed 3 August 2016).

Other Manuscripts Containing Works [possibly or certainly] by Ælfric

Y1

Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyányana 35 (R.I.35) (s. xv^{1/2})¹⁴⁰

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss;] Szentiványi, *Catalogus*, p. 27–8.

Ælfrician Contents:

1.6.1.3.2. *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ* (UK 10; Brotanek 1)

Y2

Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyányana 242 (R.II.82) (s. xiv^{med})¹⁴¹

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss;] Szentiványi, *Catalogus*, p. 121–2.

Ælfrician Contents:

4.3.2. *Letter to Sigeweard, or Libellus de ueteri testamento et nouo*¹⁴²

Y3

[Y3a] Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum M. 16. 2 (47) (formerly Salle, iii. 68) (Ker: s. xiⁱⁿ–xi^l; Gneuss: s. xi^l); and

[Y3b] London, British Library, Add. 32246 (Ker: s. xiⁱⁿ–xi^l; Gneuss: s. xi^l)

Described by: Ker §2 (see *Catalogue*, p. 2); Gneuss and Lapidge §775. See also Bremmer and Dekker, *Manuscripts*, pp. 113–14.

Ælfrician Contents:

Y3a

2.4.3. *Colloquy*; and

6.9. *Excerptiones de Prisciano*

Y3b

2.4.3. *Colloquy*; and

6.9. *Excerptiones de Prisciano*

¹⁴⁰ Date from Szentiványi, *Catalogus*, p. 27. I am indebted to Charlie Wright for calling this late Romanian manuscript to my attention.

¹⁴¹ Date from Szentiványi, *Catalogus*, p. 121.

¹⁴² Szentiványi lists 'Aelfricus OSB.: Historiae Vet. et Novi Testamenti' as §242h (*Catalogus*, p. 121); as well as a manuscript titled 'Aelfricus OSB.: Historia V. T. in Versus Redacta': Alba Iulia, Bibliotheca Batthyányana 389 (R.II.130) (s. xiii^{ex}) (*Catalogus*, p. 137). A full discussion of the Alba Iulia manuscripts is forthcoming in the Upchurch-Kleist edition of the *Sermo in dedicatione æcclesiæ* (1.6.1.3.2).

Y4

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63 (70) (fols 1r–34v: s. xi¹ or x1^{2/3}, England [provenance Saint-Bertin]; fols 35r–86v: s. x, France, provenance S. England by s. x^{med} [provenance Saint-Bertin])

Described by: [Not in Ker;] Gneuss and Lapidge §§800–1.

Ælfrician Contents:

1.6.1.1.2. *Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime* (UK 1);

4.1.2. *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* (Fehr 2a);

4.1.4. *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 3);

6.2. *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis*;

6.3. *Decalogus Moysi*;

6.4. *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum de libris recipiendis*;

6.7. *Primus igitur homo*;

6.10. *Gregorii de pastoribus non recte gradientibus*;

6.11. *De his qui auguria adtendunt*;

6.16. *Isidori de sacerdotibus*;

6.19. *De pascha*;

6.21. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis*;

7.4. *Duo reges fuerunt*;

7.5. *De ebrietate cauenda*; and

7.15. *De seruitio carnis*

Y5

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, Part I, Section B, pp. 8–160 and 167–76 (s. xi^{med}, possibly New Minster, Winchester)

Notes: CCCC 201, Part I is a 'handbook for both ecclesiastical and secular life' that comprises a collection of legal, monastic and homiletic texts, many of them associated with Wulfstan.¹⁴³ The material by the archbishop appears primarily to derive from an exemplar close to Y14, one of Wulfstan's annotated copies of his works. Ker designates Section B as a homiliary for general occasions.¹⁴⁴

Section B appears in Part I of CCCC 201 along with Section A, pp. 1–7 and 161–7, an incomplete translation of the *Regularis concordia* and an Old English version of Bede's *De die iudicii*; both sections were produced in the first half of the eleventh century, though perhaps in different centres. It was Matthew Parker (1504–1575) who joined Part I of CCCC 201 to Part II, pp. 179–272, a Latin and Old English copy of the *Capitula* of Theodulf of Orléans; Part II had formerly been bound with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College

¹⁴³ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 475.

¹⁴⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 527.

191, which in turn had been joined to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196 up until the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁵

Described by: Ker §49; Gneuss and Lapidge §65.5. See also Scragg, *Homilies*, p. xxxvi; Treharne, 'Corpus Christi College, 201'; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 137.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.3. *Heptateuch* [Ker §49B.56; includes no verses actually by Ælfric];

4.1.5. *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr II) [§49B.17]; and

6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum* [§49B.49]

Subdivisions [to CCCC 201]:

Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 482–5: a – Parkerian endleaves (fols i^r–ii^v), b – Part I, Section A, first portion (pp. 1–7 [Ker §49A.1]), c – Part I, Section B, first portion (pp. 8–160 [§49B.1–56]), d – Part I, Section A, second portion (pp. 161–7 [§49A.2]), e – Part I, Section B, second portion (pp. 167–78 [including §49B.57–8]), f – Part II (formerly bound with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191) (pp. 179–262 [see §50]), and g – Parkerian endleaf (fols iii^{rv});

[Clemoes, *First Series*; Godden, *Second Series*; and Ker, *Catalogue*: None]

Y6

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 265, pp. 1–268 (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss and Lapidge: s. xi^{med}–xi², Worcester)

Described by: Ker §53 (Latin Ælfrician texts omitted); Gneuss and Lapidge §73. See also Lucas, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 99–137.

Ælfrician Contents:

4.1.3. *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2);

4.2.1. *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*;

6.2. *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis*;

6.16. *Isidori de sacerdotibus*;

6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum* [shorter version]; and

6.21. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis*

Y7

Cambridge, Pembroke College 25 (Gneuss: s. xi^{ex} or xi², provenance Bury St Edmunds)

Described by: [Not in Ker;] Gneuss and Lapidge §131.

Ælfrician Contents:

6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum*

¹⁴⁵ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, pp. 478–9.

Y8

Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale 56 (previously 47 and 32) (Chartres region)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Omont *et al.*, *Catalogue*, pp. 27–8; and Porter, *Excerptiones*, pp. 4–6.

Ælfrician Contents:

6.9. *Excerptiones de Prisciano*

Y9

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Sam. 1595 (4°) (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: ca 1002–23, Worcester [and possibly York¹⁴⁶], provenance Roskilde, Denmark; possibly s. xi)

Described by: Ker §99; Gneuss and Lapidge §814.

Ælfrician Contents:

4.1.3. *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2);

4.1.4. *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 3);

6.2. *Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis*;

6.16. *Isidori de sacerdotibus*; and

6.21. *De septem gradibus aecclesiasticis*

Y10

Lincoln, Cathedral Library 298, no. 2¹⁴⁷ (s. xi²)

Described by: Ker §125; Gneuss and Lapidge §276. See also Da Rold, ‘Lincoln, Cathedral Library’.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.3. *Heptateuch*

Y11

London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols 93r–130r (s. xi^{med})

Described by: Ker §138; Gneuss and Lapidge §310. See also Doane, *Saints’ Lives*, pp. 15–30; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 45; Roberson, ‘Caligula A. xiv’; Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. xv; Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 34; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 190.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.2.1. *LS* 28 [Skeat II.31; Ker §138.1] and 32 [Skeat II.36; Ker §138.2]

¹⁴⁶ Sauer agrees that the manuscript was written in Worcester or York before 1023 (‘Transmission and Structure’, p. 341).

¹⁴⁷ Or ‘298. B’ (Da Rold, ‘Lincoln, Cathedral Library’; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Manuscripts*, p. 213).

Y12

[Y12a] London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xv, fols 120r–153r (Ker: s. xi²–xi/xii; Gneuss: s. xi^{ex} [in and after 1073] and s. xi/xii, Christ Church [and possibly St Augustine’s], Canterbury)); and

[Y12b¹⁴⁸] London, British Library, Egerton 3314 Ker: s. xi²–xi/xii; Gneuss: s. xi^{ex} [in and after 1073] and s. xi/xii, Christ Church [and possibly St Augustine’s], Canterbury])

Described by: Ker §139 and ‘Supplement’, p. 124; Gneuss and Lapidge §411. See also Kato, ‘Caligula A. xv’; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, pp. 34–5.

Ælfrician Contents:

Y12a

2.3. *De temporibus anni* [Ker §139B.1 and 4]

Y13

London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: s. xi^{2/4}, possibly St Augustine’s, Canterbury; provenance *ibid.*)

Described by: Ker §142; Gneuss and Lapidge §315. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 191; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 39; and Treharne, ‘Claudius B. iv’.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.3. *Heptateuch*

Y14

London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i, fols. 70r–177v (Ker: s. xiⁱⁿ; Gneuss: 1003–1023, Worcester or York)

Notes: One of Wulfstan’s annotated copies of his works, Y14 furnished material to an exemplar of Y5.¹⁴⁹

Described by: Ker §164; Gneuss and Lapidge §341. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 201; Roberson, ‘Nero A. i’; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 47; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 212.

Ælfrician Contents:

7.14. *De sabbato* [Ker §164.1]

¹⁴⁸ While for the sake of consistency the two parts of Y12 receive distinct designations, only Y12a contains Ælfrician material.

¹⁴⁹ Budny, *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 479.

Y15

London, British Library, Cotton Otho B. x, fols 29r–30v (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{med}, provenance Worcester) [see also fⁱ(1) above]

Notes: Y15 was one of a number of leaves that originally formed part of separate manuscripts but were owned and perhaps inserted into Otho B. x by John Joscelyn (1529–1603).¹⁵⁰

Described by: Ker §178; Gneuss and Lapidge §356. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 37; Roberson, 'Otho B. x'; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogue*, pp. 24–5.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.2. *Judith* (Assmann 9) [Ker §178.1]

Y16

[Y16a] London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, vol. I, fols 2r–73v and 77r–88v (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: s. xi^{2/4}, possibly either Christ Church, Canterbury or Winchester; provenance Battle); and

[Y16b] London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. ii, fols 238r–241v (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: s. xi^{2/4}, possibly either Christ Church, Canterbury or Winchester; provenance Battle)

Described by: Ker §193; Gneuss and Lapidge §373. See also Doane and Grade, *Illustrated Manuscripts*, pp. 53–79; McGurk *et al.*, *Illustrated Miscellany*, pp. 15–39; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 37; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogue*, pp. 24–5.

Ælfrician Contents:

Y16a

2.3. *De temporibus anni* [Ker §193a]

Y17

London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i, fols 43r–203r (Ker: s. xi²; Gneuss: s. xi¹ or xi^{med}, Germany)

Described by: Ker §197; Gneuss and Lapidge §376. See also Morgan, 'Tiberius C.i'; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 37; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogue*, pp. 24–5.

Ælfrician Contents:

7.10. *Se læssa creda* (UK 22) [Ker §197.c];

7.13. *Pater noster* (UK 24) [§197.b]

¹⁵⁰ See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 228–9.

Y18

[Y18a¹⁵¹] London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi (Ker: 1023 x 1035, s. xi¹; Gneuss: 1023 x 1031, New Minster, Winchester); and

[Y18b] London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: 1023 x 1031, New Minster, Winchester)

Described by: Ker §202; Gneuss and Lapidge §380. See also Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 567; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 131.

Ælfrician Contents:

Y18b

2.3. *De temporibus anni* [Ker §202f]

Y19

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. viii, fols 22r–25r (s. xi¹)

Described by: Ker §221; Gneuss and Lapidge §404. See also Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, pp. 86–7.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.3. *De temporibus anni* [Ker §221.3]

Y20

London, British Library, Royal 8 C. vii, fols 1r–2v (s. xiⁱⁿ)

Notes: Designated by Ker as a possible homiliaries – specifically, an ordered collection of *sanctorale* pieces¹⁵² – these fragments of a bifolium preserve sections of Ælfric’s Lives of Agnes and Agatha.

Described by: Ker §260; Gneuss and Lapidge §476. See also Doane, *Saints’ Lives*, pp. 91–102.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.2.1. *LS* 7 [Skeat I.7] [fol. 1rv] and 8 [Skeat I.8] [fol. 2rv] [neither edited or collated by Skeat]

¹⁵¹ While for consistency the two parts of Y18 receive distinct designations, only Y18b contains Ælfrician material.

¹⁵² *Catalogue*, p. 527.

Y21

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G 63 (s. xi²)

Notes: Marsden suggests that what Ker records as a lost MS [§404], with variant readings of *Exodus* recorded in the late seventeenth century by Thwaites,¹⁵³ may possibly have been Y21.¹⁵⁴

Described by: Ker §418¹⁵⁵; Gneuss and Lapidge §866. See also Swan and Roberson, 'Pierpont Morgan'.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.3. *Heptateuch*

Y22

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (6464), fols 1r–61v (s. xii^{ex} or xiiiⁱⁿ, England, possibly Worcester¹⁵⁶)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss;] Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, pt 2, p. 1057 [§6464].

Ælfrician Contents:

4.1.3. *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2);

4.1.4. *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 3);

6.5. *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*;

6.17. *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum*

Y23

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76 (4125) (formerly Hatton 100) (s. xi¹, possibly Worcester; provenance Worcester¹⁵⁷)

Described by: Ker §328; Gneuss and Lapidge §632. See also Kato and Roberson, 'Hatton 76'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.2. *Admonitio ad filium spirituales* [Ker §328A.2]

¹⁵³ *Heptateuchus*, p. 31.

¹⁵⁴ *Heptateuch*, p. lxi. On these lost fragments, see also Crawford, *Exameron*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁵ Ker, 'Supplement', pp. 128–9.

¹⁵⁶ Sauer, 'Transmission and Structure', p. 341.

¹⁵⁷ Origin and provenance from Gneuss; Wilcox suggests the manuscript was at Worcester by s. xiii¹ (*Prefaces*, p. 81).

Y24

Oxford, St John's College 154 (s. xiⁱⁿ, provenance Durham¹⁵⁸)

Described by: Ker §362; Gneuss and Lapidge §686.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar* [Ker §§362.1 and 362.4];

2.4.2. *Glossary* [§362.1]; and

2.4.3. *Colloquy* [§362.4]

Y25

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5362 (Gneuss: s. xi/xii, England or possibly Normandy; provenance Fécamp; Wilcox: written *ca* 1100 by a Norman scribe¹⁵⁹)

Described by: [Not in Ker;] Gneuss and Lapidge §885.3. See also Bibliothèque nationale, 'Latin 5362'.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.2.5. *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*

6.1. *Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid*

6.6. *Erat in eodem monasterio*

6.8. *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni*

6.12. *Hoc est Dei et sancti Cuthberti miraculum*

6.13. *In illo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum*

6.20. *Regnavit igitur Osuald Christianissimus*

Y26

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 586 (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: s. x² or xi¹)

Described by: Ker §371; Gneuss and Lapidge §902. See also Bibliothèque nationale, 'NAL 586'.

Ælfrician Contents:

6.9. *Excerptiones de Prisciano*

¹⁵⁸ Provenance from Gneuss; Wilcox suggests provenance Durham by s. xii^{ex}-xiiiⁱⁿ (*Prefaces*, p. 77).

¹⁵⁹ *Prefaces*, p. 81; see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. 70.

Y27

Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginense Lat. 1283, fol. 114v (s. xi^l)

Described by: Ker §393; and Gneuss and Lapidge §918.¹⁶⁰

Ælfrician Contents:

2.3. *De temporibus anni*

Y28

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 26 (A.292) (Gneuss: x. ix^l or ix^{med}, N. France; provenance England s. x?, provenance Jumièges s. xi?)

Described by: [Not in Ker;] Gneuss and Lapidge §919.3. See also Frère, *Catalogue*, p. 48.

Ælfrician Contents:

6.18. *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur*

Y29

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 1382 (U.109), fols 173r–198v (Gneuss: s. xi^l)

Described by: [Not in Ker;] Gneuss and Lapidge §925. See also Frère, *Catalogue*, p. 48.

Ælfrician Contents:

6.5. *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*

6.14. *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*

6.18. *Ordo librorum quia in ecclesia romana ponuntur*

Witnesses to the Grammar [2.4.1] and Glossary [2.4.2]

[additional witnesses: X^c, Y20, and Y24 above; and Tr1, Tr3, Tr4, Tr5, and Tr7 below]

GG1

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 449 (s. xi^l)

Described by: Ker §71; Gneuss and Lapidge §115. See also Lucas, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 163–7.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*;

2.4.2. *Glossary*

¹⁶⁰ No printed Vatican catalogue available for MSS 501–2120 of this collection; cf. Wilmar, *Codices*.

GG2

Cambridge, Trinity College R. 9. 17 (819), fols 1r–48r (s. xi/xii)

Notes: Matthew Parker (1504–1575) seems to have used GG9 as an exemplar to make corrections in GG2.¹⁶¹ Ælfric's preface was supplied on fols 1r–2v from GG3 in s. xvi as well.¹⁶²

Described by: Ker §89; Gneuss and Lapidge §182. See also Treharne, 'Trinity College, R. 9. 17'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar* [Ker §89.1]

GG3

Cambridge, University Library, Hh. 1. 10 (Ker: s. xi²; Gneuss: s. xi^{3/4}, Exeter; Wilcox: perhaps owned by Christ Church, Canterbury¹⁶³)

Notes: In s. xvi, GG3 was used to supply Ælfric's preface on fols 1r–2v of GG2.¹⁶⁴

Described by: Ker §17; Gneuss and Lapidge §13. See also Kato, 'University Library, Hh. 1. 10'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

2.4.2. *Glossary*

GG4

Durham, Cathedral Library, B. III. 32 (Ker: s. xi¹; Gneuss: s. xi¹ or xi^{med}, Canterbury, probably Christ Church)

Described by: Ker §107B; Gneuss and Lapidge §244.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

¹⁶¹ Da Rold, 'Royal 15. B. xxii'.

¹⁶² Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 134.

¹⁶³ *Prefaces*, p. 78.

¹⁶⁴ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 134.

GG5

London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. ii, fols 10r–135v (s. xi^{med})

Described by: Ker §158; Gneuss and Lapidge §336. See also Da Rold, 'Julius A. ii'; Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 1; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 1; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 183.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar* [Ker §158.1];

2.4.2. *Glossary* [§158.1]

GG6

London, British Library, Harley 107 (Ker: s. xi^{med}; Gneuss: s. xi^{med}, SE England; Wilcox: s. xi^{med}, possibly Kentish)¹⁶⁵

Described by: Ker §227; Gneuss and Lapidge §414. See also *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. I, p. 34; and Roberson, 'Harley 107'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar* [Ker §227.1];

2.4.2. *Glossary* [§227.1]

GG7

[GG7a] London, British Library, Harley 5915, fols 8r–9v (s. xi^l); and

[GG7b] Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Add. 1000 [formerly Sigmaringen] (s. xi^l)

Described by: Ker §§242 and 384; Gneuss and Lapidge §441. See also *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. III, p. 308 [single entry for Harley 5914–39].

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

GG8

[GG8a] London, British Library, Royal 12 G. xii, fols 2r–9r (s. xi^{med}); and

[GG8b] Oxford, All Souls College 38, fols 1r–12r (s. xi^{med})

Described by: Ker §265; Gneuss and Lapidge §480. See also Roberson, 'Royal 12. G. xii' and 'All Souls College'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

¹⁶⁵ *Prefaces*, p. 77.

GG9

London, British Library, Royal 15 B. xxii (s. xi²) [Gneuss and Lapidge §494: s. xi^{3/4} or xi²]

Notes: Matthew Parker (1504–1575) seems to have used GG9 as an exemplar to make corrections in GG2.¹⁶⁶ In addition, supply leaves (fols 1r–2v) were added in s. xvi to GG9, onto which Ælfric's preface to the *Grammar* was copied from Cambridge, University Library, Hh. 1. 10 (s. xi²).¹⁶⁷

Described by: Ker §269; Gneuss and Lapidge §494. See also Da Rold, 'Royal 15. B. xxii'; and Graham *et al.*, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 55–66.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

GG10

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 35 (6467) (Ker: s. xiⁱⁿ; Gneuss: s. x, Continent; provenance England by s. xiⁱⁿ; additions s. xiⁱⁿ)

Described by: Ker §298; Gneuss and Lapidge §541.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

2.4.2. *Glossary*

GG11

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 730 (2709) (s. xii/xiii)

Described by: Ker §317; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, pt 1, p. 507 [§2709]; and Swan and Roberson, 'Bodley 730'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.2. *Glossary*

¹⁶⁶ Da Rold, 'Royal 15. B. xxii'.

¹⁶⁷ Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 134 and 22.

GG12

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Anglais 67 (s. xi¹)

Described by: Ker §363; Gneuss and Lapidge §876. See also Raynaud, *Catalogue*, p. 23.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

GG13

Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 174 (s. xiii¹)

Described by: Ker §398.1; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Doane, *Grammars*, pp. 93–100; and Treharne, 'F. 174'.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar*

2.4.2. *Glossary*

*Witnesses to 7.12. The Old English Ely Privilege
(Gode ælmihtigum rixiende)*¹⁶⁸

EP1

London, British Library, Add. 5819, fols 3v–5r (s. xviii)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] 'Catalogue of the Additions', vol. 25, pp. 294–312.¹⁶⁹

EP2

London, British Library, Add. 9822, fols 13r–14v (s. xv)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] 'Catalogue of the Additional Manuscripts', p. 87.

¹⁶⁸ Entries and dates drawn from Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, §779.

¹⁶⁹ I am indebted to Ms Zoe Stansell of British Library Reference Services for the unpublished catalogue references for Add MS 5819 and Add MS 9822. She notes that 'Most Add MS numbers between 5017 and 10017 (including Add MS 5819 and Add MS 9822) are not yet included in the online Archives & Manuscripts Catalogue (though they will be in due course)' (personal correspondence, 13 July 2016).

EP3

London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 13 (s. xv)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 27; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 16.

EP4

London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. xv, fols 97r–100v (s. xv^{med}) [incomplete]

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 575; and Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, p. 135.

EP5

London, British Library, Harley 230, fols 123r–24r (s. xiv)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts*, vol. I, p. 72.

EP6

London, British Library, Stowe Charter 31 (s. xi/xii)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Sanders, *Facsimiles*, vol. III, p. xii; and *Stowe Manuscripts*, p. 20.

EP7

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 97 (5038), fols 68r–71v (s. xvii)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, pt 2, p. 926 [§5038].

EP8

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Cambridge 22 (17772), fols 1r–2r (s. xiv²)

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. IV, p. 195 [§17,772].

EP9

Public Record Office, C 56, 8 [Confirmation Roll 1 Henry VII, pt 1], no. 11 (22 August 1485 x 21 August 1486)¹⁷⁰

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] National Archives, 'C56/8'.

EP10

Public Record Office, C 56, 35 [Confirmation Roll 2 Henry VIII, pt 3], no. 3 (June 1510)¹⁷¹

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Brewer, 'Henry VIII', §519.3; and National Archives, 'C 56/35'.

EP11

Public Record Office, C 56, 97 [Confirmation Roll 14–18 Elizabeth I], no. 6 (17 November 1571 x 16 November 1576)¹⁷²

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] National Archives, 'C56/97'.

EP12

Public Record Office, C 56, 107 [Confirmation Roll 4 James I], no. 13 (25 March 1606 x 24 March 1607)¹⁷³

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] National Archives, 'C56/107'.

¹⁷⁰ That is, in the first regnal year of Henry VII. For additional information on the Confirmation Rolls, see National Archives, 'Chancery'. I am indebted to Dr Jessica Nelson and Ms Ruth Selman of the National Archives for their assistance with information formerly held in the Public Record Office.

¹⁷¹ In the second regnal year of Henry VIII (22 April 1510 – 21 April 1511); see Brewer, 'Henry VIII', §519.3, for the precise month.

¹⁷² That is, between the fourteenth and eighteenth regnal years of Elizabeth I.

¹⁷³ That is, in the fourth regnal year of James I.

Transcriptions

Tr1

Bern, Stadtbibliothek 468, Art. 14, fol. 4v (s. xvi^{ex} x 1612)¹⁷⁴

Notes: Transcription by Jacques Bongars (1546–1612) of fragments of Ælfric's *Glossary* found in Pithou's manuscript [see Tr5]; the transcription postdates Tr5, part one [Ker §405].

Described by: Ker §405; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge.]

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.2. *Glossary* [Ker §405c under 'Lost and Untraced MSS']

Tr2

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 379, fols 10r–12v (s. xvi)¹⁷⁵

Notes: Transcription by Robert Talbot (1505/06–1558) of 'much of [Y13]'s first leaf of Ælfric's *Prefatio*'.¹⁷⁶

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] James, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 226–7.

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.3. *Heptateuch*

Tr3

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Philol. 263, fols. 16r–19v and 32r–36r (s. xvi^{ex} x 1648)¹⁷⁷

Notes: Transcriptions by Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573–1648) of fragments of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* in two parts: the first, a fragment of the *Glossary* drawn from the Pithou manuscript [see Tr5] and postdating Tr5, part one [Ker §405]; the second, fragments of the *Glossary* and *Grammar* drawn from the Welser manuscript [see Tr5] and postdating Tr5, part two [Ker §406]. For the transcript by Friedrich's brother Heinrich, probably drawn from part one of Tr3, see Tr7.

Described by: Ker §§405–6; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge.]

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar* [Ker §406a under 'Lost and Untraced MSS'], fols 32r–36r;

2.4.2. *Glossary* [§§405a and 406 under 'Lost and Untraced MSS'], fols 16r–19v and 32r–36r

¹⁷⁴ That is, between Ker's dating of Tr5 and Bongars' death.

¹⁷⁵ James, *Corpus Christi*, p. 226.

¹⁷⁶ Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. xxxvi.

¹⁷⁷ That is, between Ker's dating of Tr5 and Lindenbrog's death.

Tr4

Hannover, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek IV. 495 (s. xvi^{ex} x 1730)¹⁷⁸

Notes: Transcription partly by J. G. Eccard (1674–1730) of fragments of Ælfric's *Glossary* from the Pithou manuscript [see *Tr5*]; the transcription postdates *Tr5*, part one [Ker §405].

Described by: Ker §405; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge.]

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.2. *Glossary* [Ker §405d under 'Lost and Untraced MSS']

Tr5

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. ix, fols 208r–13r and 213r–15r¹⁷⁹ (s. xvi^{ex})

Notes: Transcriptions of fragments of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary*, made in two parts by one hand towards the end of the sixteenth century. The first part derived from a manuscript obtained in Oxford in 1572 by François Pithou (1543–1621) which appears to have contained material by Bede along with 'a large fragment' of the *Glossary*.¹⁸⁰ The second part contains fragments of both the *Glossary* and *Grammar* in a collection of grammatical and glossarial material drawn from a manuscript belonging to Marcus Welser (1558–1614); the Vitellius scribe 'copied only that part of Ælfric's glossary from it which was not in the Pithou manuscript'.¹⁸¹

Described by: Ker §§405–6; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 425; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, pp. 87–8.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.1. *Grammar* [Ker §§406c and 406d under 'Lost and Untraced MSS'], fols 32r–36r; and

2.4.2. *Glossary* [§§405 and 406a under 'Lost and Untraced MSS'], fols 16r–19v and 32r–36r

Tr6

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. vii, fols 10r–12r (1529 x 1603)

Notes: Transcription by John Joscelyn (1529–1603) of G's copy of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigefyrth* [Ker §209.2], including the seven subsequently lost leaves after fol. 6r.

¹⁷⁸ That is, between Ker's dating of *Tr5* and Eccard's death.

¹⁷⁹ Fols 213r–215r actually encompass Ker §§406a–406d, but Ker does not specify the pagination for sections within this range (*Catalogue*, pp. 470–1).

¹⁸⁰ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 470.

¹⁸¹ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 471.

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Planta, *Catalogue*, p. 428; Smith, Thomas, *Catalogus*, pp. 91–2; and Wanley, *Catalogus*, pp. 239–40.

Ælfrician Contents:

4.3.3. *Letter to Sigefyrth* (Assmann 2)

Tr7

London, Lambeth Palace 783, fols 248r–253v (1659)

Notes: Abbreviated copy of Ælfric's *Glossary* by Jan van Vliet (1622–66), drawn from a copy by Heinrich Lindembrog (1570–1642) of a transcription by his brother Friedrich Lindembrog (1573–1648) [probably Tr3, part one] of the Pithou manuscript [see Tr5].

Described by: Ker §405; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge;] Todd, *Catalogue*, p. 191.

Ælfrician Contents:

2.4.2. *Glossary* [Ker §405b under 'Lost and Untraced MSS']

Tr8

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ballard 58 (10844) (1706 x 1755)

Notes: Transcription by George Ballard (1706–55) of Y23's copy of the *Admonitio* [Ker §328A.2].

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 166–7 [§10844].

Ælfrician Contents:

2.2. *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*

Tr9

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 41 (5153) (1591 x 1677)

Notes: Transcription by Francis Junius (1591–1677) of X^e's copy of *De temporibus anni* [Ker §186.13], titled *De primo die seculi* in X^e.

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, part 2, p. 974 [§5153].

Ælfrician Contents:

2.3. *De temporibus anni*

Tr10

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 47 (5159) (1591 x 1677)

Notes: A copy of the *Hexameron* made by Francis Junius (1591–1677) from P1 [Ker §332.1], with ‘a few variants’ from S [§333.17].¹⁸²

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, part 2, p. 975 [§5159].

Ælfrician Contents:

1.6.1.4.2. *Hexameron*

Tr11

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 68 (5179) (1591 x 1677)

Notes: Transcription by Francis Junius (1591–1677) of Y23’s copy of the *Admonitio* [Ker §328A.2].

Described by: [Not in Ker or Gneuss and Lapidge;] Madan *et al.*, *Summary Catalogue*, vol. II, part 2, p. 979 [§5179].

Ælfrician Contents:

2.2. *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*

Tr12

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 381, fols 140v–47v (s. xvii¹)

Notes: Transcription of *Esther* by William L’Isle (ca 1569–1637), who ‘gives no indication of the source from which he obtained this text’.¹⁸³

Described by: Ker §410; [not in Gneuss and Lapidge.]

Ælfrician Contents:

3.1.1. *Esther* (Assmann 8)

¹⁸² Crawford, *Exameron*, p. 8.

¹⁸³ Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 473.

The Manuscript Distribution of Ælfric's Works

If 'The Ælfrician Canon' above gives details of individual writings and 'Ælfrician Manuscripts' delineates their Ælfrician contents, the following shows at a glance in which manuscripts copies of Ælfrician works are found. The first table identifies witnesses to the *Catholic Homilies* (CH I and II), *Supplementary Homilies* (SH I and II), *Temporale Homilies* (TH I and II) and *Lives of Saints* (LS); witnesses to individual items in these collections are listed under 1.1, 1.2, 1.4, 1.5, and 3.2.1 in 'The Ælfrician Canon'. Thereafter, organization is largely dictated by constraints of space: entries 1.6.1.1.1–1.6.1.4.4 involve more manuscripts than do 2.1.1–2.1.7, so the second table is somewhat larger than the third – both being sized so as to fit together on the page. 7.12 (*The Old English Ely Privilege*) is the odd item out, as the dozen witnesses here attest uniquely to this one work. 'L' denotes a textual witness that is lost, 'PL' a copy where the preface has been lost, 'P' a copy that includes its preface(s), 'Pⁱ' a copy whose preface is imperfect, and 'OE^e' a textual witness that contains an extract of an Old English preface. Sigla in bold, last of all, indicate manuscripts that recur in multiple places: 'B [Bodley 343]', for example, contains items to be found in six of the nine tables below. Taken together, this data may offer not just a reference tool for research, but an attestation of the extensive nature of Ælfric's historical footprint.

Table 17(a–j) Manuscript Distribution of Ælfric's Works

L = text lost; PL = preface lost; P = preface (or Latin and Old English prefaces, where relevant) included with copy; Pⁱ = preface imperfect [part of the homily lost since MS written]; OE^e = extract of Old English preface included with copy

17a1

	A [Royal 7 C. xii]	B [Bodley 343]	C [CCCC 303]	D1 [Bodley 340]	D2 [Bodley 342]	E [CCCC 198]	F [CCCC 162, Part I]	G [Vespasian D. xiv]	H [Vitellius C. vi]	J1 [Cleopatra B. xiii]	J2 [Lambeth 489]	K [CUL Gg. 3. 28]	L [CUL li. 1. 33]	M [CUL li. 4. 6]	N [Faustina A. ix]	O [CCCC 302]	P1 [Hatton 115]	Q [CCCC 188]	R1 [CCCC 178]	R2 [CCCC 162, 139–60]	S [Hatton 116]	T1 [Hatton 113]	T2 [Hatton 114]	T3 [Junius 121]	U [Trinity B. 15. 34]
1.1. CH I	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	OE ^e	OE ^e	OE ^e	X	X	X	X	OE ^e	X
1.2. CH II		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
1.3. SH I		X	X			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1.3. SH II			X		X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
1.4. TH I													X	X	X	X								X	
1.5. TH II		X							X																X
3.2.1. LS		P	X			X	X						X	X		X	X								

17a2

	V1a [CCCC 419]	V1b [CCCC 421, 1–2]	V2 [CCCC 421, 3–98 / 209–24]	W [Julius E. vii]	Za [Laud Misc. 509]	X ^a [CCCC 190]	X ^c [Faustina A. x]	X ^d [Otho C. i, vol. 2]	X ^e [Tiberius A. iii]	X ^g [Vespasian A. xxii]	X ⁱ [Lambeth 487]	X ^k [Paris 7585]	f ^{h(2)} [CCCC 367, 3r–6v/11r–29v]	f ^b [Jesus 15]	f ⁽¹⁻²⁾ [New Haven, Eng.th.c.74]	f ^d [Gloucester 35]	f ^e [Hague/Copenhagen]	f ^h [Otho A. xviii]	f ^{h(3)} [Otho B. x]	f ^k [Vitellius D. xvii]	f ^l [Harley 2110]	f ^m [Pepys/Harley]	f ⁿ [Latham M. 6. 15]	f ^p [Junius 85 and 96]	Y11 [Caligula A. xiv]	Y20 [Royal 8 C. vii]
1.1. CH I		X	X							X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
1.2. CH II			X			X	X		X				X	X		X				X				X		
1.3. SH I			X		X									X												
1.3. SH II	X		X	X				X				X		X												
1.4. TH I													X													
1.5. TH II																										
3.2.1. LS				P												X				P ⁱ	PL				P	X

17b

	B [Bodley 343]	C [CCCC 303]	F [CCCC 162, Part I]	H [Vitellius C. v]	J2 [Lambeth 489]	L [CUL li. 1. 33]	N [Faustina A. ix]	O [CCCC 302]	P1 [Hatton 115]	P2 [Kansas C2.2]	Q [CCCC 188]	R1 [CCCC 178]	S [Hatton 11]	T2 [Hatton 114]	T3 [Junius 121]	U [Trinity B. 15. 34]	V1a [CCCC 419]	X ^c [Otho C. i. vol. 2]	X ⁱ [Paris 943]	f ⁶⁰ [Otho B. x]	f ^k [Vitellius D. xvii]	Y1 [Alba Iulia 35]	Y4 [Boulogne 63]	Tr10 [Junius 47]
1.6.1.1.1. <i>In natali domini</i>	X																							
1.6.1.1.2. <i>In natale domini</i>																							X	
1.6.1.1.3. <i>Secundum Iohannem</i>	X																							
1.6.1.1.4. <i>Erat quidam languens</i>	X	X	X	X																				
1.6.1.1.5. <i>Collegerunt ergo pontifices</i>			X	L			X	X																
1.6.1.1.6. <i>Modicum</i>															X									
1.6.1.1.7. <i>Be ðam seofanfealdan</i>							X																	
1.6.1.1.8. <i>Erat quidam regulus</i>	X																							
1.6.1.1.9. <i>Simile est regnum</i>	X																							
1.6.1.2.1. <i>Nisi granum frumenti</i>	X				X																			
1.6.1.2.2. <i>De sancta uirginitate</i>				X																				
1.6.1.2.3. <i>Natiuitas sanctae Mariae</i>	X		X							X		X												
1.6.1.3.1. <i>Natale unius confessoris</i>	X								X	X	X	X	X	X							X			
1.6.1.3.2. <i>In dedicatione æcclesiæ</i>				X										X				X				X		
1.6.1.4.1. <i>Esto consentiens</i>															X									
1.6.1.4.2. <i>Hexameron</i>							X	X		X	X	X	X				X		X					X
1.6.1.4.3. <i>Menn behofiað</i>								X		X	X			X										
1.6.1.4.4. <i>De uirginitate</i>																X								

17c

	B [Bodley 343]	C [CCCC 303]	G [Vespasian D. xiv]	N [Faustina A. ix]	P1 [Hatton 115]	R1 [CCCC 178]	R2 [CCCC 162, 139–60]	S [Hatton 11]	T1 [Hatton 113]	T2 [Hatton 114]	U [Trinity B. 15. 34]	V2 [CCCC 421, 3–98 / 209–24]	W [Julius E. vii]	X ^d [Otho C. i. vol. 2]	X ^f [Tiberius C. vi]	X ^h [Harley 3271]	X ⁱ [Lambeth 487]
2.1.1. <i>Interrogationes</i>		X		X			X	X		X			X			X	
2.1.2. <i>De duodecim abusiuis</i>		X	X	X								L	L				
2.1.3. <i>De octo uitiiis</i>					X		X										X
2.1.4. <i>De septiformi spiritu</i>	X			X			X	X		X				X			
2.1.5. <i>Be þam halgan gaste</i>	X		X	X			X			X				X	X		
2.1.6. <i>De creatore</i>													X				
2.1.7. <i>De sex etatibus</i>													X				

17d1

	C [CCCC 303]	G [Vespasian D. xiv]	K [CUL Gg. 3. 28]	L [CUL li. 1. 33]	P1 [Hatton 115]	Za [Laud Misc. 509]	X ^c [Faustina A. xl]	X ^e [Tiberius A. iii]	X ^s [Harley 3271]	f ⁽⁴⁾ [CCCC 367, 1r-2v / 7r-10r]	f ⁽⁶⁾ [Otho B. xl]	Y3a [Antwerp M. 16. 2]	Y3b [London Add. 32246]	Y5 [CCCC 201]	Y10 [Lincoln 298, no. 2]	Y12a [Caligula A. xv]	Y13 [Claudian B. iv]	Y15 [Otho B. x, 29r-30v]	Y16a [Tiberius B. v, vol. I]	Y18 [Titus D. xxvii]	Y19 [Vitellius C. viii]	Y21 [Pierpont G 63]	Y23 [Hatton 76]	Y24 [St John's 154]	Y27 [Vatican 1283]	GG1 [CCCC 449]
2.2. Admonitio																							P			
2.3. De temporibus anni			X					X		X						X			X	X	X				X	
2.4.1. Grammar							X		P															P		X
2.4.2. Glossary							X						X	X										X		X
2.4.3. Colloquy								X				X	X											X		
3.1.1. Esther																										
3.1.2. Judith	X																X									
3.1.3. Heptateuch	X	X	P	X	P						X			X	X		P ⁱ					X				

17d2

	GG2 [Trinity R. 9. 17]	GG3 [CUL Hh. 1. 10]	GG4 [Durham B. III. 32]	GG5 [Julius A. ii]	GG6 [Harley 107]	GG7a [Harley 5915]	GG7b [Lilly 1000]	GG8a [Royal 12 G. xii]	GG8b [All Souls 38]	GG9 [Royal 15 B. xxii]	GG10 [Barlow 35]	GG11 [Bodley 730]	GG12 [Paris 67]	GG13 [Worcester F. 174]	Tr1 [Bern 468]	Tr2 [CCCC 379]	Tr3 [Hamburg 263]	Tr4 [Hannover IV. 495]	Tr5 [Vitellius C. ix]	Tr7 [Lambeth 783]	Tr8 [Ballard 58]	Tr9 [Junius 41]	Tr11 [Junius 68]	Tr12 [Laud Misc. 381]	Wanley
2.2. Admonitio																					X		X		
2.3. De temporibus anni																						X			
2.4.1. Grammar	X	P	P	X	P	X	X	X	X	P	X		X	X	X		X		X						
2.4.2. Glossary		X		X	X						X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X					
2.4.3. Colloquy																									
3.1.1. Esther																							X		
3.1.2. Judith																									
3.1.3. Heptateuch																X									X

17e

	B [Bodley 343]	C [CCCC 303]	E [CCCC 198]	J2 [Lambeth 489]	K [CUL Gg. 3. 28]	L [CUL li. 1. 33]	P1 [Hatton 115]	R1 [CCCC 178]	T3 [Junius 121]	W [Julius E. vii]	X ^a [CCCC 190]	f ⁴ [Vitellius D. xvii]	Y4 [Boulogne 63]	Y25 [Paris 5362]
3.2.1. above														
3.2.2. <i>Quomodo Acitofel</i>		X		X	X	X			X		L			
3.2.3. <i>De tribus ordinibus</i>		X	X		X	X	X		X					
3.2.4. <i>De uaniloquio</i>							X							
3.2.5. <i>Vita Æthelwoldi</i>													P	
4.1.1. <i>Wulfsgige</i>					P			P		X				
4.1.2. <i>Latin Letter</i>												X		

17f

	B [Bodley 343]	E [CCCC 198]	G [Vespasian D. xiv]	H [Vitellius C. v]	J2 [Lambeth 489]	K [CUL Gg. 3. 28]	N [Faustina A. ix]	O [CCCC 302]	P1 [Hatton 115]	R1 [CCCC 178]	S [Hatton 116]	T3 [Junius 121]	V1a [CCCC 419]	Za [Laud Misc. 509]	X ^a [CCCC 190]	X ^b [CCCC 320]	X ^c [Tiberius A. iii]	X ^d [Harley 3271]	Y6 [CCCC 265]	Y9 [Copenhagen 1595]	Y22 [Barlow 37]	Tr6 [Vitellius D. vii]
4.1.3. <i>First Latin Letter</i>															X				X	X	X	
4.1.4. <i>Second Latin</i>															X				X	X	X	
4.1.5. <i>First OE Letter</i>	P		X												P							
4.1.6. <i>Second OE Letter</i>	P		X								X				P		X					
4.2.1. <i>Eynsham</i>																			P			
4.3.1. <i>Edward</i>									X	X	X											
4.3.2. <i>Sigeweard</i>	X			X										X				X				
4.3.3. <i>Sigefyrth</i>			P ⁱ	X			P	X					X									P ⁱ
4.3.4. <i>Wulfgeat</i>				X					X			X		X								
4.4.1. <i>Hieronimus</i>				X														X				
4.4.2. <i>De penitentia</i>		X			X	X										X						
4.4.3. <i>Iudeiscum</i>																		X				
4.4.4. <i>Læwedum</i>						X			X													
4.4.5. <i>Witan</i>														X								

17g

5. Prefaces	Witnesses to prefaces marked with 'P', 'PL', 'P ^u ', or 'OE ^u ' at 1.1. 1.2, 2.2, 2.4.1, 3.1.3, 3.2.1, 3.2.5, 4.1.1, 4.1.5, 4.1.6, 4.2.1, and 4.3.3, as noted above.
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17h

	T3 [Junius 121]	X ^e [CCCC 190]	Y3a [Antwerp M. 16. 2]	Y3b [London Add. 32246]	Y4 [Boulogne 63]	Y5 [CCCC 201]	Y6 [CCCC 265]	Y7 [Pembroke 25]	Y8 [Chartres 56]	Y9 [Copenhagen 1595]	Y22 [Barlow 37]	Y25 [Paris 5362]	Y26 [Paris 586]	Y28 [Rouen 26]	Y29 [Rouen 1382]
6.1. <i>Accepit</i>												X			
6.2. <i>Beati Hieronimi</i>					X	X			X						
6.3. <i>Decalogus</i>		X			X										
6.4. <i>Decretum</i>					X										
6.5. <i>De ecclesiastica</i>		X								X					X
6.6. <i>Erat in eodem</i>											X				
6.7. <i>Primus igitur</i>					X										
6.8. <i>Epitome</i>											X				
6.9. <i>Excerptiones</i>			X	X				X				X			
6.10. <i>Gregorii</i>					X										
6.11. <i>De his qui</i>					X										
6.12. <i>Hoc est Dei</i>											X				
6.13. <i>In illo tempore</i>											X				
6.14. <i>Institutio</i>		X													X
6.15. <i>De doctrina</i>		X													
6.16. <i>Isidori</i>		X			X	X		X							
6.17. <i>De officiis</i>	X	X			X	X	X			X					
6.18. <i>Ordo librorum</i>		X											X	X	
6.19. <i>De pascha</i>					X										
6.20. <i>Regnauit</i>											X				
6.21. <i>De septem</i>		X			X	X		X							

17i

171

	A [Royal 7 C. xii]	B [Bodley 343]	C [CCCC 303]	E [CCCC 198]	F [CCCC 162, Part I]	H [Vitellius C. vi]	J1 [Cleopatra B. xiii]	J2 [Lambeth 489]	K [CUL Gg. 3. 28]	L [CUL li. 1. 33]	M [CUL li. 4. 6]	P1 [Hatton 115]	Q [CCCC 188]	R1 [CCCC 178]	S [Hatton 116]	T1 [Hatton 113]	T2 [Hatton 114]	T3 [Junius 121]	V1b [CCCC 421, 1–2]	V2 [CCCC 421, 3–98 / 209–241]	W [Julius E. vii]	X ^a [CCCC 190]	f ^b [Jesus 15]	f ^c [Vitellius D. xvii]	Y4 [Boulogne 63]	Y14 [Nero A. i]	Y17 [Tiberius C. i]	Y25 [Paris 5362]	
7.1. <i>Be ane</i>																X													
7.2. <i>De auaritia</i>		X												X									X						
7.3. <i>De cogitatione</i>						X						X			X														
7.4. <i>Duo reges</i>																										X			
7.5. <i>De ebrietate</i>																										X			
7.6. <i>Expositio</i>																						X							
7.7. <i>Gebedu</i>																													
7.8. <i>Be gehadedum</i>																			X										
7.9. <i>De infantibus</i>					X							X		X	X														
7.10. <i>Se læssa</i>							X		X																			X	
7.11. <i>Mæsse</i>									X									X											
7.12. <i>below</i>																													
7.13. <i>Pater</i>							X		X																			X	
7.14. <i>De sabbato</i>																											X		X
7.15. <i>De seruitio</i>																										X			
7.16. <i>Uton biddan</i>			X																	X									
8.1. <i>CH I Notes</i>	X	X		X		X			X	X	X		X												X				
8.2. <i>CH II Notes</i>									X		X	X								X									
8.3. <i>Sermo Notes</i>		X											X	X	X		X												
8.4. <i>De temporibus Note</i>									X																				
8.5. <i>LS Note</i>																					X								
8.6. <i>Her is geleafa</i>							X		X																				
8.7. <i>Her geendað</i>													X																

17j

	EP1 [London 5819]	EP2 [London 9822]	EP3 [Augustus ii. 13]	EP4 [Domitian xv]	EP5 [Harley 230]	EP6 [Stowe Charter 31]	EP7 [Dodsworth 97]	EP8 [Gough Cambridge 22]	EP9 [PRO C 56, 8]	EP10 [PRO C 56, 35]	EP11 [PRO C 56, 97]	EP12 [PRO C 56, 107]
7.12. <i>Ely</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Appendix 4

The Chronology of Ælfric's Works: Compendium

The information in Appendix 4 might more precisely be titled 'A Snapshot of Current Scholarship Regarding the Chronology of Ælfric's Works', for that is what it seeks to encapsulate: the array of analytical conclusions, hypotheses, and tenuous suggestions (whether mine or others') that have been posited about items in Ælfric's corpus. Caution, however, should be taken with the results. Though the timetable seems to give a blow-by-blow account, tracing Ælfric's authorial and editorial activity down to the year or month, the whole rests on deductions rather than certainties. We can't say definitively that Ælfric initially completed *CH* I in 989. We can't categorically affirm that he initially completed *CH* II between the first half of 991 and the first half of 992. Our dates for the elevation of Wulfsgie III, the death of Ealdorman Æthelweard and the elevation of Wulfstan the Homilist are reasonable but not absolute. Ælfric's elevation as abbot seems to have occurred later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005, but future scholars may bring us greater clarity. Cenwulf's tenure and the elevation of Æthelwold II may both fall between 16 November 1006 and 1007, but on the matter again we cannot be unequivocal. The years since Clemoes' 'Chronology' have moved our understanding of these milestones, and the dating of swaths of Ælfrician works are directly affected as a result.

But not much. The last six decades of scholarship may have added some possible items to Ælfric's canon, enriched our knowledge of his sources and compositional methods, and given us greater access to manuscript images and textual editions, but they have tweaked Clemoes' key dates by only a few years at the most – and sometimes, not at all. Further revision is no doubt yet to come: at best, this study may offer a resetting of the clock, a basis for new discussions that could challenge this timetable and show certain of its presuppositions to be baseless. At the same time, however, it is not impossible to imagine sixty and more years hence a chronology being accepted whose contours are not unfamiliar, reflecting still the pioneering work of Clemoes, Godden, Pope, and others who came before.

In the material in Appendix 4, endnotes are used with apologies for their inconvenience, as footnotes would to decrease the readability of the table to an unmanageable degree. '–' is used to indicate a period over the course of which events occurred, 'x' refers to months or years between which events occurred, and parentheses group compound dates for clarity. 'ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)' thus indicates a period beginning around 1006 and ending between 1009 and 1010. Light grey associates text(s) or event(s) with a designated time period (e.g., 'Between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991'), while material in dark grey pertains to the development of the *Catholic Homilies*. 'Augmented' means that authorial additions (and sometimes revisions) have been made to the text, while 'Revised' shows that noteworthy authorial revisions are present; other entries assume minor revisions

Appendix 4

to contents at various phases of First or Second Series dissemination. ‘Perhaps’ suggests a lower level of certainty than ‘possibly’ or ‘probably’. Asterisks denote works whose authorship is still under debate. Hard brackets (such as with ‘[*De infantibus**)’ indicate uncertainty as to whether a text was composed in that form or at that time, particularly in the case of posited early drafts or cases where multiple dates have been proposed. In all the above, as the edges of such categories are naturally fluid, they seek more to gesture towards editorial complexities than offer hard and fast distinctions. But it gives us a place on which to build.

980s	Between [A] <i>ca</i> 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991 ³	Between [A] <i>ca</i> 964 x 970 and [B] <i>ca</i> 987 ¹	Composition of homiletic precursors to <i>CH</i> and <i>LS</i> <i>Primus igitur homo</i> * ² [984 Death of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester]	
		[<i>ca</i> 987	Ælfric becomes monk of Cerne Abbas ¹⁷]	
		987–9	Initial composition of <i>CH</i> works	
		989	Completion of composition and first organization of <i>CH</i> I	
990–2	[<i>Gregorii de pastoribus non recte gradientibus</i> * ⁴]	[12 or 13 February 990	Sigeric becomes archbishop of Canterbury]	Between [A] <i>ca</i> July x December 989 and [B] <i>ca</i> 991: first organization of <i>CH</i> II
	[<i>Isidori de sacerdotibus</i> * ⁵	January–June 990	Production of MS A (<i>CH</i> I, phase α) ¹⁹ • <i>CH</i> I.1–12 • Old English note to <i>CH</i> I.12, at line 79²⁰ • <i>CH</i> I.13–4 • Old English note following <i>CH</i> I.14, at line 220 (probably)²¹ • <i>CH</i> I.15²² • <i>CH</i> I.16–19 • <i>CH</i> I.20²³ • <i>CH</i> I.21–2 • <i>CH</i> I.23–4 (imperfect) • <i>CH</i> I.25 • <i>CH</i> I.26	
	[<i>De septem gradibus ecclesiasticis</i> * ⁶	March 990	<i>CH</i> II.12.1–373 ¹⁸ • <i>CH</i> I.15²² • <i>CH</i> I.16–19 • <i>CH</i> I.20²³ • <i>CH</i> I.21–2 • <i>CH</i> I.23–4 (imperfect) • <i>CH</i> I.25 • <i>CH</i> I.26	
	[<i>Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis</i> * ⁷			
	[<i>Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime</i> * [UK 1] ⁸	<i>CH</i> II.12.1–373 ¹⁸	• Old English note following <i>CH</i> I.14, at line 220 (probably)²¹ • <i>CH</i> I.15²² • <i>CH</i> I.16–19 • <i>CH</i> I.20²³ • <i>CH</i> I.21–2 • <i>CH</i> I.23–4 (imperfect) • <i>CH</i> I.25 • <i>CH</i> I.26	
	[<i>Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum de libris recipiendis</i> * ⁹			
	[<i>Decalogus Moysi</i> ¹⁰	March 990	<i>CH</i> II.12.1–373 ¹⁸ • <i>CH</i> I.15²² • <i>CH</i> I.16–19 • <i>CH</i> I.20²³ • <i>CH</i> I.21–2 • <i>CH</i> I.23–4 (imperfect) • <i>CH</i> I.25 • <i>CH</i> I.26	
	[<i>De pascha</i> * ¹¹]			
	[<i>De ebrietate cauenda</i> * ¹²]	<i>CH</i> II.12.1–373 ¹⁸	• Old English note following <i>CH</i> I.14, at line 220 (probably)²¹ • <i>CH</i> I.15²² • <i>CH</i> I.16–19 • <i>CH</i> I.20²³ • <i>CH</i> I.21–2 • <i>CH</i> I.23–4 (imperfect) • <i>CH</i> I.25 • <i>CH</i> I.26	
	[<i>De seruitio carnis</i> * ¹³]			
	Between [A] <i>ca</i> 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991 (continued) ¹⁴	July–December 990	Revision of MS A; production of Æthelweard’s [lost] copy of <i>CH</i> I (phase β); production of Sigeric’s copy of <i>CH</i> I (phase β) ²⁴ • <i>CH</i> I.1 (extract) • <i>CH</i> I.3–7 • <i>CH</i> I.8 • <i>CH</i> I.10–2 • <i>CH</i> I.15–17 • <i>CH</i> I.18 • <i>CH</i> I.19²⁵ • <i>CH</i> I.20 • <i>CH</i> I.21²⁶ • <i>CH</i> I.22–4	
	[<i>Expositio officii</i> * ¹⁵	July–December 990	• <i>CH</i> I.1 (extract) • <i>CH</i> I.3–7 • <i>CH</i> I.8 • <i>CH</i> I.10–2 • <i>CH</i> I.15–17 • <i>CH</i> I.18 • <i>CH</i> I.19²⁵ • <i>CH</i> I.20 • <i>CH</i> I.21²⁶ • <i>CH</i> I.22–4	
	[<i>De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum</i> * ¹⁶			

990–2		• CH I.28 • CH I.33 • CH I.35 • CH I.39–40 • CH I.13 • CH I.25–7 • CH I.29 • CH I.30²⁷ • CH I.31 (imperfect) • CH I.32 • CH I.34²⁸ • CH I.36–7 • CH I.38²⁹																																		
	January x June 991	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces to CH I (including Latin note at CH I.preface, apparatus for line 134); augmented Phase β copy of CH I sent to Æthelweard; original Phase β copy of CH I sent to Sigeric																																		
	[10 or 11 August – Autumn 991	Viking attacks that include the Battle of Maldon]																																		
	Between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January x June 992 ³⁰	completion of composition and first organization of CH II; production of Sigeric’s copy of CH II	Production of Phase γ ¹ (Ha-type) copies of CH I ³² <table><tr><td>Main MSS</td><td>H Interpolator</td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.1 • CH I.2 </td><td> • CH I.1 (1–42 [to <i>mihte</i>]) </td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.3 </td><td> • CH I.3 (1–9 [to <i>philippus</i>]) </td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.4 (imperfect) </td><td> • CH I.4 (277–94 [<i>gemet ... AMEN</i>]) </td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.5–8 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.10 </td><td> • CH I.10 (198–204 [<i>iure ... AMEN</i>]) </td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.11 </td><td> • CH I.11 </td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.12 </td><td> • CH I.12 (1–10 [to <i>mid</i>]) </td></tr><tr><td> • [Old English note following CH I.14, at line 220³³] • CH I.14–23 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.24 </td><td> • CH I.24 (208–10 [<i>menniscum ... AMEN</i>]) </td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.28 (imperfect) </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.33 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.35 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.39–40 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.9 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.13 </td><td></td></tr><tr><td> • CH I.25 </td><td> • CH I.25 (1–225 [to <i>andwerdum</i>]) </td></tr></table>	Main MSS	H Interpolator	• CH I.1 • CH I.2	• CH I.1 (1–42 [to <i>mihte</i>])	• CH I.3	• CH I.3 (1–9 [to <i>philippus</i>])	• CH I.4 (imperfect)	• CH I.4 (277–94 [<i>gemet ... AMEN</i>])	• CH I.5–8		• CH I.10	• CH I.10 (198–204 [<i>iure ... AMEN</i>])	• CH I.11	• CH I.11	• CH I.12	• CH I.12 (1–10 [to <i>mid</i>])	• [Old English note following CH I.14, at line 220³³] • CH I.14–23		• CH I.24	• CH I.24 (208–10 [<i>menniscum ... AMEN</i>])	• CH I.28 (imperfect)		• CH I.33		• CH I.35		• CH I.39–40		• CH I.9		• CH I.13		• CH I.25
Main MSS	H Interpolator																																			
• CH I.1 • CH I.2	• CH I.1 (1–42 [to <i>mihte</i>])																																			
• CH I.3	• CH I.3 (1–9 [to <i>philippus</i>])																																			
• CH I.4 (imperfect)	• CH I.4 (277–94 [<i>gemet ... AMEN</i>])																																			
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• CH I.11	• CH I.11																																			
• CH I.12	• CH I.12 (1–10 [to <i>mid</i>])																																			
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• CH I.39–40																																				
• CH I.9																																				
• CH I.13																																				
• CH I.25	• CH I.25 (1–225 [to <i>andwerdum</i>])																																			

*De temporibus anni*³¹

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990–2				• CH I.26–7 (imperfect) • CH I.29 • CH I.30 • CH I.31 • CH I.32 • CH I.34 • CH I.36–7 • CH I.38	• CH I.29 (296 [[<i>ecnys</i>]<i>se wuldrað. AMEN</i>]) • CH I.30 • Latin note at CH I.30, at line 3 • CH I.31 (1–8) • CH I.38 (161–8)
	January x June 992	Composition of Latin and Old English Prefaces to CH II; CH II sent to Sigeric			
993–8	Between [A] January x June 992 and [B] early in the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998 ³⁴	Between [A] 992, after January x June and [B] <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 995	992, after January x June ³⁵	[<i>De temporibus anni</i>]³⁶ <i>Pater Noster</i> [UK 24]³⁷ <i>Se læssa creda</i> [UK 22]³⁸ <i>Mæsse creda</i> [UK 23]³⁹ <i>Gebedu on Englisc</i> [UK 21]⁴⁰ <i>De penitentia</i> [UK 19]⁴¹ <i>Læwedum mannum</i> [UK 20]⁴²	
	<i>Excerptiones de Prisciano</i> *		[4 June 993 x 28 October 994]	Wulfsgie becomes bishop of Sherborne (probably <i>ca</i> 993 [after 4 June])]	
		<i>De sancta Maria</i>	[<i>Sermo in dedicatione æcclesie</i> (UK 10; Brotanek 1) ⁴³]		
		<i>Excusatio dictantis</i>	Grammar ⁴⁴	<i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) – <i>ca</i> 998: Early Stages of Dissemination of the First Recension of CH II ⁴⁵	Between [A] <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) and [B] <i>ca</i> 998 x 1002 ³⁰ Production of Phase γ^2 (K-type) copies of CH I
		<i>Ammonitio</i>	Latin and Old English Prefaces to the Grammar	Archetype 1a ⁴⁶	Archetype 1 ⁵¹
		<i>Explicit</i>	Glossary ⁵⁸	• CH II.4 (last few words) • CH II.5–6 • CH II.8 • CH II.12–4 • CH II.22 • CH II.24b (53–253) • CH II.25–6 • CH II.28–32	• CH I.1–2 • CH I.15 • CH I.17 • CH I.18 (extract) • CH I.22 • CH I.36a (1–146)
		<i>Oratio</i>	<i>Heptateuch</i> : 1.1–24.26 ⁵⁹	Archetype 1b ⁴⁷	Archetype 2 ⁵²
			<i>Prefatio</i> to Genesis ⁶⁰	• CH II.4–7 • CH II.9–11 • CH II.17–28 • CH II.31 (with <i>De sancta Maria</i>⁴⁸) • CH II <i>Excusatio dictantis</i>⁴⁹ • CH II.35–40	• Latin note at CH I.11, line 110⁵³ • CH I.26b (imperfect) • Latin note at CH I.26, line 156⁵⁴ • CH I.31⁵⁵
			<i>Colloquy</i> ⁶¹		
			<i>Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin</i> ⁶² [perhaps augmented with SH I.11a.197–234 ⁶³]		
			LS 1 [Skeat I.1] ⁶⁴		
			[LS 15 (Skeat I.16.267–381) / <i>De octo uitiiis</i> 12–92] ⁶⁵		
			LS 15 [Skeat I.16] ⁶⁶		
	Middle of the period <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998				

		LS 16 [Skeat I.17] ⁶⁹	Archetype 2 ⁷⁰	Archetype 3 ⁸¹
		SH II.19.1–130 ⁸⁶	• CH II.prefaces (Latin and OE) • CH II <i>Ammonitio</i>⁷¹ • CH II.1–4 • Latin note at CH II.4, lines 129–30 • CH II.5–6 • Latin note at CH II.6, line 117 • CH II.7–14 • Old English note at CH II.14, line 357⁷² • CH II.15–24 • Old English notes at CH II.24, lines 128–30 and 163–4 • CH II.25–30 • Old English note at CH II.30, line 19 • CH II.31 (with <i>De sancta Maria</i>⁷³) • CH II.32–3 • CH II.34 (with <i>Excusatio dictantis</i>⁷⁴) • CH II.35–40 • CH II <i>Explicit</i>⁷⁵ • CH II <i>Oratio</i>⁷⁶ • <i>Her is geleafa</i>⁷⁷	• CH I.2–5 • CH I.26b (98–295) • Latin note at CH I.26, line 275⁸² • CH I.27a (1–122) • CH I.29 • CH I.31 • CH I.32 (extracts) • CH I.37 (extracts) • CH I.38b (169–351)
In or before <i>ca</i> 993 (after 4 June) x <i>ca</i> 998 ⁸⁷	<i>De his qui auguria adtendunt</i> ^{*68}	SH II.25 ⁸⁷		
		SH II.21.141–9 ⁸⁸		
		SH II.29.36–128 (perhaps) ⁸⁹		
		SH II.30.75–114 ⁹⁰		
		SH II.21 ⁹¹		
		LS 11 [Skeat I.12] ⁹²		
		LS 12 [Skeat I.13] ⁹³		
		SH I.4 [Müller] ⁹⁴		
		SH I.2 ¹⁰³		
		SH I.3 ¹⁰⁴		
		SH I.5 ¹⁰⁵		
		<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> I [UK 3 / SH I.6.1–208 and 292–373] ¹⁰⁶		
		<i>Collegerunt ergo pontifices</i> [UK 4 / Assmann 5] ¹⁰⁷		
		LS 17 [Skeat I.18] ¹⁰⁸	Archetype 3 ⁷⁸	
		<i>Quomodo Acitofel</i> [LS 18 (Skeat I.19.155–258)] (perhaps) ¹⁰⁹	• CH II.9 • CH II.17 • CH II.27 • CH II.30 • CH II.33–33	
		<i>De duodecim abusiui</i> s ¹¹⁰		
		Completion and initial dissemination of <i>Lives of Saints</i> , including Latin and Old English Prefaces ¹¹¹	Archetype 4 ⁷⁹	
			• CH II.1 (extract) • Perhaps CH II.4 • CH II.27 • CH II.37–9 • Perhaps CH II.40	
			Archetype 5 ⁸⁰	
			• CH II.11 (imperfect) • CH II.17 (imperfect) • CH II.18	
		SH II.19 ¹¹²		
		<i>De tribus ordinibus saeculi</i> [independent circulation of LS 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62]] ¹¹³		
				</

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998–1002	[ca 998	995 x 1000 'or a little later' ¹¹⁶	Letter to Brother Edward ¹¹⁷	Hexameron ¹¹⁴		
				Heptateuch: Joshua ¹¹⁵		
				Death of Æthelweard]		
				[De infantibus ¹²⁰]		
				Heptateuch: Numbers 13.1–26.65 ¹²¹		
				Heptateuch: Judges ¹²²		
				Esther [Assmann 8] ¹²³		
				Judith [Assmann 9] ¹²⁴		
				SH II.20 ¹²⁵		
				Nisi granum frumenti [Irvine 4 (LS 33 [Skeat II.37] and Belfour 8)] ¹²⁶		
				Admonitio ad filium spirituale ¹²⁷		
				Sermo in dedicatione Æcclesiæ [UK 10; Brotanek 1] ¹²⁸		
				SH II.18 ¹²⁹		
				De septiformi spiritu [UK 17; Napier 7] ¹³⁰		
				Be þam halgan gaste [UK 16; Napier 8] ¹³¹		
1002–5 ¹³⁶	[1002	In or before ca 998 x 1002 ¹¹⁸	Duo reges fuerunt ¹¹⁹	SH II.22 ¹³²		
				De cogitatione [UK 18] ¹³³		
				Be ane munuccilde* [Napier 31] ¹³⁴		
				In natali domini [UK 2; Belfour 9] ¹³⁵		
				Death of Bishop Wulfsig]		
				Wulfstan the Homilist becomes Archbishop of York]		
				Production of TH I / Phase δ ¹ of CH I [if authorial] ¹³⁸	Production of Phase ε ¹ of CH I ¹³⁹	Later Stages of Dissemination of First Recension of CH II
					• CH I.preface (extract)	Archetype 6 ¹⁴⁰
					• [Hexameron] ¹⁴²	Archetype 7 ¹⁴¹
				• [Retouched CH II.1] ¹⁴³ (not extant ¹⁴⁴);		
				• [SH I.1 (not extant; possibly δ ² ; more likely TH II ¹⁴⁵)]		
				• [Retouched CH II.2 (not extant)]		
				• [homily for the Sunday after Christmas (not extant; possibly δ ²)] ¹⁴⁶		
				• [Retouched CH II.3 (not extant)]		
				• [homily for the First Sunday after Epiphany (not extant; possibly δ ²)]		

1002–5	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.4		• Retouched ¹⁴⁷ <i>CH</i> II.4 (imperfect)	• Retouched ¹⁴⁸ <i>CH</i> II.4
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.23b (lines 126–98) ¹⁴⁹		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.23b (lines 126–98)	•
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.5–6 ¹⁵⁰		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.5–6	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.5–6
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.7 ¹⁵¹	• <i>CH</i> I.11 (extract)	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.7	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.7
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.8 ¹⁵²		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.8	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.8
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.12 ¹⁵³		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.12	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.12
		• [<i>Secundum Iohannem</i> (Irvine 3 / Belfour 7) (not extant; probably δ^1 or δ^2 ; possibly <i>TH</i> II) ¹⁵⁴]			
		• [<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> II (UK 3 / <i>SH</i> I.6.209–91) (not extant; possibly δ^2 or <i>TH</i> II) ¹⁵⁵]			
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.13 ¹⁵⁶		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.13	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.13
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.14 ¹⁵⁷		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.14	• Revised <i>CH</i> II.14 ¹⁵⁸
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.15–16 ¹⁵⁹		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.15–16	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.15–16
		• Augmented <i>CH</i> I.17 ¹⁶⁰			
		• <i>SH</i> I.7 ¹⁶¹			
		• <i>SH</i> I.8 [Belfour 2] ¹⁶²			
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.19 (perhaps) ¹⁶³		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.19	
		• [Retouched <i>CH</i> II.20–1 (not extant)]	• <i>CH</i> I.19 [two copies, one having omissions and interpolations]		
		• [Revised <i>CH</i> I.20 (not extant in M; possibly δ^2) ¹⁶⁴];	• <i>CH</i> I.20	• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.22	
		• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.22 ¹⁶⁵			
		• <i>SH</i> I.9 ¹⁶⁶			
		• <i>SH</i> I.10 ¹⁶⁷			
		• <i>SH</i> I.12 [Belfour 1] ¹⁶⁸		• <i>CH</i> II.32 (imperfect)	
				• Retouched <i>CH</i> II.39	
			• <i>Menn behofiað godre lare</i> [<i>CH</i> I.pref.57–119] ¹⁶⁹ [UK 12]		
		Production of <i>TH</i> I / Phase δ^2 of <i>CH</i> I [if authorial] ¹⁷⁰	Production of Phase ϵ^2 of <i>CH</i> I ¹⁷¹	[Production of Phase ϵ^3 of <i>CH</i> I (perhaps) ¹⁷²]	<i>CH</i> II, First Recension, Archetype 8 ¹⁷³
		• [<i>SH</i> I.1 (possibly δ^1 ; more likely <i>TH</i> II) ¹⁷⁴]			• <i>CH</i> II.1

Appendix 4

1002-5	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005		• CH I.2 (perhaps)			
		• [homily for the Sunday after Christmas (not extant; possibly δ ¹)] ¹⁷⁵				
			• CH I.6			
		• [homily for the First Sunday after Epiphany (not extant; possibly δ ¹)]				
		• Augmented/Retouched ¹⁷⁶ CH I.8 ¹⁷⁷				
				• [CH I.10-1 (possibly)]		
					• CH II.8	
				• [CH I.12 (possibly)]		
		• [<i>Secundum Iohannem</i> (Irvine 3 / Belfour 7) (not extant; probably δ ¹ or δ ² ; possibly TH II)] ¹⁷⁸				
		• [<i>Erat quidam languens Lazarus</i> II (UK 3; SH I.6.209-91) (not extant; possibly δ ¹ or TH II)] ¹⁷⁹				
					• CH II.13	
			• CH I.14 (extract in Morris 11)			
		• Retouched CH I.15 ¹⁸⁰	• CH I.15 (perhaps)			• CH II.15-16
		• Augmented CH I.16 ¹⁸¹				
		• <i>Be ðam seofanfealdan ungifa*</i> [UK 6 / Napier 8 and SH II.19] ¹⁸²				
		• Retouched CH I.18 ¹⁸³				
		• Revised CH I.20 (possibly δ ¹) ¹⁸⁴				
			• CH I.22 (possibly)			
			• CH I.23 (possibly)			
			• CH I.24			
			• CH I.28 (possibly)			
			• CH I.33 (possibly)			
			• CH I.35			
				• [CH I.39 (expanded with extract originally from CH I.preface, said extract		

1002–5	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005	• CH I.40 • CH I.9	• also appearing independently)^{185]} • [CH I.40]	• CH II.9 • CH II.17 • CH II.18
		• CH I.25–7 • CH I.29 • CH I.30 (possibly) • CH I.31	• [CH I.32]	
		• CH I.34	• <i>Natiuitas sanctae Mariae</i> [UK 8 / Assmann 3]¹⁸⁶	
		• CH I.36		• CH II.34 (with <i>Excusatio dictantis</i>)
		• CH I.38a (1–168); possibly CH I.38 (conflated with a β-phase copy)¹⁸⁷		• CH II.37–8 • CH II.39 (imperfect)
		• [Menn behofiað godre lare (CH I.pref.57–119)¹⁸⁸ (UK 12)]		
		[<i>De sabbato</i> ^{189]}		
1005–6	Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1005 ¹⁹⁰	Between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 (continued) ¹⁹³	Latin Letter to Wulfstan (Fehr 2a) ¹⁹⁴	
			SH I.11 ¹⁹⁵	
	De ecclesiastica consuetudine*¹⁹¹	[later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005	Ælfric becomes Abbot of Eynsham]	
	Institutio beati Amalarii*¹⁹²			
		[1005	Issue of charter (S911) confirming Æthelmær's foundation of Eynsham Abbey]	Between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1006–9 x 1010: ¹⁹⁶
	ca 1005 ¹⁹⁸	[<i>De septem gradibus ecclesiasticis</i> * ^{199]}	Production of Archetype 1, early stage of Second Recension of CH II ¹⁹⁷	
		[<i>Isidori de sacerdotibus</i> * ^{200]}		
		[<i>Beati Hieronimi excerpta de episcopis</i> * ^{201]}		
		First Latin Letter for Wulfstan (Fehr 2) ²⁰²		

Appendix 4

1005–6			Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan (Fehr 3) ²¹³					• Revised and Augmented <i>CH</i> II.19 [augmentation now <i>SH</i> II.24]²⁰⁴ • Revised <i>CH</i> II.20–1 • Revised <i>CH</i> II.35–8 • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.39 [<i>SH</i> II.28]²⁰⁵ • Revised <i>CH</i> II.40	
			Letter to the Monks of Eynsham ²⁰⁸						
	[16 November 1005]		Death of Archbishop Ælfric]						
			Letter to Sigeweard ²¹⁴						
			Letter to Sigefyrth [Assmann 2] ²¹⁵						
			Letter to Wulfgeat [Assmann 1] ²¹⁶						
			Production of Phase ε ³ of <i>CH</i> I ²¹⁷						
			• <i>CH</i> I.10–2 (possibly) • <i>CH</i> I.39 (expanded with extract originally from <i>CH</i> I.preface, said extract also appearing independently)²¹⁸ • <i>CH</i> I.40 • <i>CH</i> I.32 • <i>Natiuitas sanctae Mariae</i> [UK 8 / Assmann 3]²¹⁹ • <i>Menn behofiað godre lare</i> [<i>CH</i> I.pref.57–119]²²⁰ [UK 12]						
			<i>De uirginitate</i> ²²¹ [UK 13]						
			[<i>Be gehadedum mannum</i> ²²³]						
1006–10			First Old English Letter for Wulfstan (Fehr II) ²²⁴					• <i>CH</i> II.35–8 • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.39 [<i>SH</i> II.28]²⁰⁷	
			Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan (Fehr III) ²²⁵						
			[<i>Decalogus Moysi</i> ²²⁶]						
			<i>De creatore et creatura</i> [UK 14] ²²⁷						
			<i>De sex etatibus huius seculi</i> [UK 15] ²²⁸						
			[1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹						
			[1006, perhaps after 16 November						
			perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰						
			[late 1006						
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		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
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		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							
		[late 1006 x 1007 ²³³							
		[late 1006, perhaps 16 Nov ²²⁹							
		[1006, perhaps after 16 November							
		perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or <i>ca</i> 1004 x late 1006 ²³⁰							
		[late 1006							

1006–10 ca 1006 – (1009 × 1010)		• CH I.7–8				
	• [homilies for the 4th, 5th and 6th Sundays after Epiphany ²⁴³ (not extant) ²⁴⁴]					
		• CH I.10–11				
	• Revised CH II.8 ²⁴⁵				• Revised CH II.8	
				• [SH I.4 (possibly) ²⁴⁶]		
		• CH I.12				
	• [Secundum Iohannem [Irvine 3 (Belfour 7)] (not extant; probably δ ¹ or δ ² ; possibly TH II ²⁴⁷]					
	• [Possibly Lazarus II (UK 3 / SH I.6.209–91) ²⁴⁸]; • Erat quidam languens Lazarus III [UK 3 / Belfour 14] ²⁴⁹					
		• CH I.14	• CH I.14 (extract)			
	• Revised and Augmented CH II.16 ²⁵⁰	• CH I.15	• CH I.15		• CH I.15	• Revised and Augmented CH II.16
		• CH I.16	• CH I.16 ²⁵¹		• CH I.16 [lines 123–6 copied afresh]	
		• CH I.17			• CH I.17 [lines 1–5 copied afresh]	
	• Modicum [UK 5; Assmann 6] ²⁵²					
	• SH I.7.94–161 ²⁵³					
		• CH I.18	• CH I.18 (extract); ²⁵⁴ Augmented LS 16 [Skeat I.17] [SH II.29] ²⁵⁵		• CH I.18	
		• CH I.19	• CH I.19		• CH I.19	
	• CH I.20 (imperfect)				• CH I.20	
		• CH I.21			• CH I.21	

Appendix 4

1006–10 ca 1006 – (1009 × 1010)		• CH I.22 (imperfect)	• CH I.22		• CH I.22		
	• [SH I.11 ²⁵⁶]		• [SH I.11 ²⁵⁷]				
		• CH I.23					
	• Revised CH I.23a (lines 1– 125) ²⁵⁸				• Revised CH II.23a [included independent -ly]	• Revised CH II.23a [included independent -ly]	
		• CH I.24			• CH I.24		
	• SH II.13 ²⁵⁹						
	• SH II.14 ²⁶⁰						
	• SH II.15 ²⁶¹						
	• Revised CH II.25 ²⁶²				• Revised CH II.25	• Revised CH II.25	
	• Revised CH II.26 ²⁶³				• Revised CH II.26	• Revised CH II.26	
	• SH II.16 ²⁶⁴						
		• CH I.28	• CH I.28 (possibly, imperfect)		• CH I.28		
	• Revised CH II.28 [SH II.26] ²⁶⁵				• Revised CH II.28 ²⁶⁶ [SH II.26 ²⁶⁷]		
	• SH II.17 ²⁶⁸				• SH II.17 ²⁶⁹		
	• [homilies for the 14th and 15th Sundays after Pentecost ²⁷⁰ (not extant)]						
	• Revised CH II.31 [SH II.27] ²⁷¹				• SH II.27		
		• CH I.33					
	• [homilies for the 18th, 19th, and 20th Sundays after Pentecost ²⁷² (not extant)]						
		• CH I.35	• CH I.35 (possibly, imperfect)				
	• <i>Erat quidam regulus</i> [Irvine 1 (Belfour 3)] ²⁷³						
	• <i>Simile est regnum</i> [Irvine 2 (Belfour 4)] ²⁷⁴						
	• [homilies for the 24th and (maybe) the						

1006–10 ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)	25th and 26th Sundays after Pentecost ²⁷⁵ (not extant)]					
		• Augmented CH I.39 [incl. Augmented <i>Menn behofiað</i> <i>godre lare</i> ²⁷⁶]				
		• CH I.40				
	• [homilies for the 3rd and 4th Sundays after Pentecost ²⁷⁷ (not extant)]					
		• CH I.9	• CH I.9			
		• CH I.13	• CH I.13			
		• CH I.25	• CH I.25			
		• CH I.26	• CH I.26			
		• CH I.27	• CH I.27	• CH I.27 (possibly, imperfect)		
		• CH I. 29 (imperfect)	• CH I.29	• CH I.29 (perhaps, imperfect)		
		• CH I. 30 (imperfect)	• CH I.30	• CH I.30 (possibly, imperfect)		
		• CH I.31–2	• CH I.31–2	•		
		• CH I.34	• CH I.34	• CH I.34a (1– 132 [perhaps, imperfect])		
		• CH I.36	• CH I.36	•		
		• CH I.37	• CH I.37	• CH I.37 (possibly, imperfect)		
		• CH I.38	• CH I.38 ²⁷⁸	• CH I.38b (169–351 [perhaps, imperfect]); <i>Sermo in natale unius confessoris</i> [UK 9; Assmann 4 ²⁷⁹]		
	• SH I.11a* ²⁸⁰					
			• Augmented SH II.21 ²⁸¹			
			• <i>Her geendað seo forme boc</i> ²⁸²			
			• [<i>De infantibus</i> * ²⁸³]			

Appendix 4

1006–10	ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)		• Augmented <i>Interrogatio -nes Sigewulfi in Genesin</i> [including <i>SH</i> I.11a.197–234]²⁸⁴				
			• Augmented <i>Menn behofiað godre lare</i> [<i>CH</i> I.pref.57–119]²⁸⁵ [UK 12]				
			• <i>De octo uititiis</i>²⁸⁶				
		Expanded <i>Letter to Sigefyrth</i> [Assmann 2] ²⁸⁷					
		<i>SH</i> II.30.1–74 ²⁸⁸					
		<i>De sancta uirginitate</i> * [UK 7] ²⁸⁹					
	<i>Esto consentiens aduersario</i> * ²⁹⁰ [UK 11]						
	[Augmented <i>SH</i> II.21 ²⁹¹]						
	[Augmented <i>LS</i> 16 [Skeat I.17] [<i>SH</i> II.29]* (perhaps) ²⁹²]						
	1006–10	[as late as 1009 x 1010]		<i>SH</i> II.14 ²⁹³]			
ca 1009 – ca 1010 ²⁹⁴		Production of Archetype 4, possible later stage of Second Recension of <i>CH</i> II²⁹⁵ • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.3 • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.7 • Revised <i>CH</i> II.14 • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.22 [<i>SH</i> II.25]³⁰¹ • <i>De auaritia</i>* [augmented extract from <i>CH</i> II.26]³⁰² • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.28*³⁰³ [<i>SH</i> II.26 and <i>SH</i> II.30.75–114]³⁰⁴ • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.18 [<i>SH</i> II.23]³⁰⁵ • <i>De uaniloquio neglegentium</i> [Augmented extract from <i>CH</i> II.39]³⁰⁶ Production of Archetype 5, possible later stage of Second Recension of <i>CH</i> II³⁰⁷ • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.19 [also including adaptation of <i>De auaritia</i>*]³⁰⁸ • Augmented <i>CH</i> II.22 [<i>SH</i> II.25]³⁰⁹ • <i>CH</i> II.28		CH I, Phase Uncertain ƿ [CH I.18–19, both imperfect],²⁹⁶ ƿ [CH I.26, imperfect],²⁹⁷ ƿ [CH I.29, imperfect],²⁹⁸ ƿ [CH I. 1, imperfect]²⁹⁹ and ƿ [CH I.1, imperfect]³⁰⁰			
[ca 1010]		Death of Ælfric]					
[1012 x 1013 ^{1/2} (possibly before late summer)]		Death of Æthelwold II ‘the Younger’; ultimate <i>terminus ante quem</i> for death of Ælfric ³¹⁰]					

- ¹ That is, while Ælfric was at Winchester prior to moving to Cerne (Hill, 'Life and Works', pp. 44 and 52).
- ² Asterisks indicate uncertain authorship: here and below, the position of such texts indicates our best understanding of their date if they are in fact by Ælfric. Citing Dietrich ('Abt Aelfrik', p. 244), Gatch asserts that 'It can ... be argued with some confidence that [*Primus igitur homo*] is the earliest datable work of Ælfric. It must antedate [*CH I*] and it is not unlikely that the document was produced before Ælfric went to Cerne Abbas in 987' ('Boulogne-Sur-Mer 63', p. 488; see also Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 40). Such a position is supported by Godden's confirmation of Ælfric's *Primus* as a source for *CH I.27.117-92* (*Commentary*, pp. 227-8). On the authorship of the *Primus*, see Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 41-5, 10, and 18.
- ³ That is, between the composition of *Primus igitur homo* (if authorial) and the prefaces to *CH I*. Texts dateable to this period are listed below according to their order of appearance in Y4, with the exception of *Sermo in natale domini*, which Jones would place after *Isidori de sacerdotibus*, *De septem gradibus* and *Beati Hieronimi excerpta* ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18).
- ⁴ Little work has been done on this extract from Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* and at present its dating must be speculative. Like *De pascha*, *De ebrietate cauenda* and *De seruitio carnis*, however – other previously-undated texts – it appears in Y4, arguably a witness to one of Ælfric's Commonplace Books (see Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63'; and Kleist, 'Commonplace Book', pp. 33-4). Items therein are not in strict chronological order – preserving, perhaps, the order in which Ælfric or his assistant(s) originally copied them down – as the second entry, Ælfric's *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* [datable between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005], comes between two earlier texts: *Primus igitur homo* [between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] ca 987] and the *Sermo in natale domini et de ratione anime* [between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991]. The texts are not all over the map, however: most likely predate Ælfric's move to Eynsham. Aside from the early *Primus igitur homo*, *De his qui auguria adiudunt* [in or before 993 x 998], *Duo reges fuerunt* [in or before 998 x 1002] and the later *Letter*, moreover, the remainder may date, like the *Sermo*, to the period in question here: between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991. As Gatch states: 'although the Boulogne collection cannot have been put together in its present form early in Ælfric's career, he seems already to have been collecting individual items which he or a follower was later to assemble' ('Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 489). In the absence of other copies of *Gregorii de pastoribus*, *De pascha*, *De ebrietate cauenda* and *De seruitio carnis*, therefore, or evidence that might otherwise sway the matter, these four texts may be tentatively assigned to this period as well (though see notes on *De seruitio carnis* below).
- ⁵ On the dating and authorship of which, see Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 14-16 and 18; and Clemoes, 'Benedictine Office', pp. 281 and 275. Clemoes suggests that Ælfric may have compiled *Isidori de sacerdotibus* concurrently with his *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2); see below ca 1005.
- ⁶ Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 18; on authorship, see p. 16 n. 71 and pp. 14-15 and 18; as well as Clemoes, 'Benedictine Office', pp. 281 and 275. Clemoes suggests that Ælfric may have compiled *De septem gradibus* concurrently with his *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2); see below ca 1005. Again, however, Jones further asserts that 'Ælfric appears to have read (or himself compiled) the *De septem gradibus* before he wrote his Old English pastoral to Bishop Wulfsig [ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 995] ... and certainly before his pastoral letters to Wulfstan [between 1002 and ca 1006]' ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 16 n. 71). If *De septem gradibus*' use of non-Amalarian sources reflects early pedagogical values (see Kleist, 'Commonplace Book', pp. 45-6), moreover, the choice might place *De septem gradibus* before the First Series.
- ⁷ On the dating and authorship of which, see Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 14 and 18; and Clemoes, 'Benedictine Office', pp. 281 and 275. Clemoes suggests that Ælfric may have compiled *Beati Hieronimi excerpta* concurrently with his *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2); see below ca 1005.
- ⁸ On the authorship and dating of which, see Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 45-51, 12-13, and 18; Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, p. 555; Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', pp. 296-8 (see also *Commentary*, pp. 164-5); Leinbaugh, 'Boulogne Sermon'; Clemoes, 'Mens absentia cogitans', p. 63 n. 2; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 137 n. 1; Gatch, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 489; and Raynes, 'Boulogne-sur-Mer', pp. 67-8.
- ⁹ Gatch observes that Ælfric's condemnation of the *Visio Pauli* (*CH II.20.14-16*) and the Life of Thomas (*Excusatio dictantis* 7-17) reflects proscriptions in the *Decretum* (at PL 59.164) – placing Ælfric's copy of the *Decretum* at least before January x June 992 – and suggests that it may have been the *Decretum* that inspired Ælfric's own condemnation of *mycel gedwyld* and unorthodox/non-authoritative writings in his prefaces to the First Series (thus before January x June 991; see 'Boulogne-sur-Mer 63', p. 489).
- ¹⁰ On the authorship of which, see Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 11 and 18. Clemoes suggests that Ælfric may have composed the *Decalogus* concurrently with his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr III); see below ca 1006.
- ¹¹ For the dating of which, see note to *Gregorii de pastoribus* above.

- ¹² For the dating of which, see note to *Gregorii de pastoribus* above.
- ¹³ For the dating of which, see note to *Gregorii de pastoribus* above. Note also, however, that *De seruitio*'s identification of the seventh age with an eternal state post-Judgment stands in contrast to Ælfric's teaching in his *Letter to Sigeweard* (lines 845–55 [Marsden, *Heptateuch*, pp. 227–8]) and *De sex etatibus huius seculi* (lines 178–91 [Tristram, *Sex aetates mundi*, p. 201]), where he interprets the seventh age as the state of expectant deceased saints and the eighth as eternal post-Judgment joy or woe. Ælfric surveys the six ages in *CH* II.4.84–293 when treating the six vessels of water that Christ turns into wine at Cana (John 2.1–11), but does not mention the seventh age or associate the six ages in general with sinful slavery: rather, Ælfric speaks of *deoflicum ðeowte* ('devilish servitude') specifically in terms of the Babylonian exile in the Fifth Age. If *De seruitio carnis* is by Ælfric, therefore, it reflects a topic to which he was drawn early in his career, but also a position which he refined by the time of the *Letter* (ca 1005–6) and *De sex etatibus* (ca 1006). The text could thus be dated to or (likely) before ca 1005–6 [on which, see this period below].
- ¹⁴ That is, between the composition of *Primus igitur homo* (if authorial) and the prefaces to *CH* I. Texts dateable to this period are listed below according to their order of appearance in X^a.
- ¹⁵ The *Expositio officii* bears striking similarities to *De septem gradibus* in its selection and treatment of sources, raising the possibility of Ælfric's authorship and potentially dating the two texts to the same general period; see Kleist, 'Commonplace Book', pp. 65–7.
- ¹⁶ *De officiis atque orationibus canonicarum horarum* is an extract from Hrabanus Maurus' *De institutione clericorum*, a text that arguably served as an immediate source for *De septem gradibus*. While we simply cannot be sure, if *De officiis* was extracted by Ælfric, stylistic details, possible liturgical connections to the *Expositio officii* and association with the Commonplace material in X^a may allow us to date *De officiis* to a period contemporary with the *Expositio* and *De septem gradibus*; see Kleist, 'Commonplace Book', pp. 67–70.
- ¹⁷ Hill, *Life and Works*, p. 35.
- ¹⁸ Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35 n. 6.
- ¹⁹ Phase α items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ²⁰ Note found in MS A; see Eliason and Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 35 and n. 6.
- ²¹ Earliest version of note found in MS Be1. Otherwise, see below under Phase γ Ha-type copies of *CH* I in the period between January x June 991 and January x June 992, for the next-earliest witness, MS Ha.
- ²² Copy in A imperfect; complete copy in Ca probably belongs to this phase.
- ²³ Copy in A imperfect; complete copy in Be3 belongs to this phase.
- ²⁴ Phase β items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ²⁵ MS B: perhaps; MS Gd: extracts.
- ²⁶ MSS Cd, Da1 and Ea; adaption of two sentences following *SH* I.4.55 in MS Ga.
- ²⁷ In MS Ga, lines 1–198 and 199–273 are separated by a large extract from *CH* II.29, while in MS f^a, the copy is imperfect.
- ²⁸ Imperfect in MS f^a; *CH* I.34b (134–279) present in MS Gb.
- ²⁹ Imperfect in MS Db1; conflated with an ε-phase copy in MS Cb.
- ³⁰ Between the time Ælfric sent the Phase-β copy of *CH* I and the copy of *CH* II to Sigeric.
- ³¹ Henel had dated the text to 'about 993' (*De temporibus anni*, p. li), observing, for example, that Ælfric's *Interrogationes* [dateable earlier in the period 993 x 998] refers to *De temporibus anni* as an earlier work (*De temporibus anni*, pp. xlvii–li; see also Hill, 'Life and Times', p. 59 and n. 82). Godden positioned it a bit later, in the period 992–5 ('Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*', p. 59). Blake, however, now dates its initial composition to between 990 and 992 – that is, 'not long after the completion of the first series' and 'before the completion of the second series' – and the revised form in MS K, with its unique title, introductory sentence, readings, errors and explicit, to 'no later than about 995' (*Ælfric's De temporibus anni*, pp. 36–7; see also pp. 21 and 30). As Blake uses Clemoes' dates of 989 and 992 for *CH* I and II, we may nuance his dating of the original to 989 x (January 991 – June 992) and MS K to 993 – (ca 998 x 1002). Clemoes affirms, moreover, that 'the supplementary items [in K] are likely to have been written directly after Sigeric was sent *CH* II. The order in which they occur in K may well reflect their relative order of composition' (*First Series*, p. 161; see also 'Chronology', p. 39 and Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 55). If these 'supplementary items' include *De temporibus*, the original – as opposed, confusingly, to the revised form in K itself – could be dated even more precisely to 992, after the period between January and June. However, Clemoes here draws his argument explicitly from Sisam, who speaks of the contents of K as follows: (a) *CH* I, (b) *CH* II, (c) *De temporibus*, (d) the *Pater Noster*, *Se læssa creda*, *Mæsse creda* and *Gebedu on Englisc*, (e) *De penitentia*, (f) *Læwedum mannum* and (g) the *Letter for Wulfsgie*. Sisam suggests that Sigeric's copy of *CH* I [January x June 991] did not contain (c)–(g); that *De temporibus* was composed and circulated independently of *CH* I [which it does in the majority of its extant copies]; and that Ælfric added (d)–(g) to K 'in their chronological order' (*Studies*, pp. 166–8). If in referring to 'supplementary items', therefore, Clemoes means (d)–(g), his

- acceptance of Sisam's argument overall may still position *De temporibus* between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992 – roughly between 991 and 992 rather than Blake's 990 and 992.
- ³² Phase γ Ha-type items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ³³ Earliest version of note, found in MS Ha, if the copy in Be1 is not associated with phase α of CH I production; see above in the period January–June 990.
- ³⁴ That is, between the compositions of [A] the Latin prefaces to CH I and CH II and [B] the *Grammar* and *Glossary* (Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 18). Jones provisionally includes the Latin preface to the *Lives of Saints* in [A], similarly placing it before the *Grammar*, but the chronology here associates the prefaces with the initial dissemination of CH and LS, respectively: see below, later in the period 993 x 998.
- ³⁵ 'Directly after Sigeric was sent CH II' (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161).
- ³⁶ See 'Chronology', pp. 39–41, 48, and 56–7; and above in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.
- ³⁷ See 'Chronology', pp. 39, 42, and 56; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; and above under *De temporibus anni* in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.
- ³⁸ See 'Chronology', pp. 39, 42, and 56; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; and above under *De temporibus anni* in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.
- ³⁹ See 'Chronology', pp. 39, 42, and 56; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; and above under *De temporibus anni* in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.
- ⁴⁰ See 'Chronology', pp. 39, 42, and 56; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; and above under *De temporibus anni* in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.
- ⁴¹ See 'Chronology', pp. 36, 39, 40, 42, 54, 56, and 66 n. 22; as well as Clayton, *Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 30. Ælfric reuses the first two parts of *De penitentia* in LS 11 [Skeat I.12]: p. 602, line 1 – p. 604, line 8 appear as one part of LS 11 [Skeat I.12.141–77], while p. 604, lines 8–20 correspond to another part [Skeat LS I.12.254–67]; see below, towards the middle of the period 993 x 998.
- ⁴² On *Lævedum mannum is to witenne*, an exhortation to laymen on chastity, fasting and sobriety during Lent, see 'Chronology', pp. 36, 39, 40, 42, 54, and 56; Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 161; and above under *De temporibus anni* in the period between [A] January x June 991 and [B] January 991 – June 992.
- ⁴³ Pope argues that the homily's 'mainly non-rhythmical form points to its having been composed soon after the completion of [CH III] (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 141 n. 1); Clemoes, however, places it below in the period 998 x 1002 ('Chronology', pp. 51, 54, and 56).
- ⁴⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 39–42 and 56–7.
- ⁴⁵ That is, while Ælfric was writing the *Grammar* and *Lives of Saints* – after his *Letter for Wulfsgige*, the earliest date of which is 993 and before Æthelweard's death in 998 (Godden, *Second Series*, p. xciii; Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 56). Here and below, where multiple witnesses to a homily are associated with the same phase, stage, or recension, the copy that is fullest (e.g., complete rather than imperfect) or has the highest certainty (e.g., 'possibly' rather than 'perhaps' associated with that phase) will be listed.
- ⁴⁶ MSS B, C, F, G, X^e, and G. Archetype 1a items are here listed in liturgical order. Note that despite its name, Archetype 1a is not the earliest form of CH II, as it follows the production of Sigeric's copy.
- ⁴⁷ MSS B, C, D, E, F, G, L, X^c, and F^p. Archetype 1b items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁴⁸ For *De sancta Maria*'s date, see below under *Ammonitio* in Archetype 2.
- ⁴⁹ For the date of the *Excusatio dictantis*, see below under *Ammonitio* in Archetype 2.
- ⁵⁰ Clemoes states that 'the γ K-type codex ... can be safely regarded as the standard product of Ælfric's scriptorium, so far as homilies are concerned, during the period when he was mainly engaged in composing the *Lives of Saints* and Old Testament pieces' – that is, after his *Letter for Wulfsgige* and before Assmann 9 (*Judith*) [perhaps the last Old Testament piece, produced between 998, Æthelweard's death and 1002, Wulfstan's elevation as Archbishop of York] (*First Series*, pp. 161 and 69 and 'Chronology', pp. 56 and 53).
- ⁵¹ MSS J and V. Archetype 1 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁵² MSS E and F^a. Archetype 2 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁵³ Earliest witness to note found in MS Eb3.
- ⁵⁴ Earliest witness to note found in MS F^a.
- ⁵⁵ An extract from CH I.31 appears in MS E, while an imperfect copy is found in MS F^a.
- ⁵⁶ That is, perhaps early in Wulfsgige's episcopacy, 'since the letter is partly in rhythmical, partly in plain style' (Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 19; Budny gives the same verdict in her *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 536; as does Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 35); see also Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, p. 193 and Clemoes, 'Supplement', pp. cxliv–cxlv).
- ⁵⁷ See 'Chronology', pp. 36, 42, 53–4, 56, and 58; while noting Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26. See also the augmented version of the *Letter* later in the period 993 – (ca 998 x 1002) [Archetype 4, Phase γ K-type copies of CH I dissemination].

- ⁵⁸ See 'Chronology', pp. 41–2 and 56.
- ⁵⁹ See 'Chronology', pp. 39–42, 53, 55–6, 63 n. 20, 64 n. 29, and 71 n. 88.
- ⁶⁰ See 'Chronology', pp. 41, 55–6, 63 n. 20, and 65 n. 39; this form of the title follows Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 3.
- ⁶¹ See 'Chronology', pp. 41–2 and 56–7.
- ⁶² See 'Chronology', pp. 38–42, 48, 56, 67–8 n. 61, and 70 n. 86; and Hill, 'Life and Works', p. 56.
- ⁶³ The augmentation consists of the doxology on the Trinity in rhythmical prose (Stoneman 550–88 / MacLean 511–45, starting 'ac we secgað nu') found as the conclusion to the *Interrogationes* in MSS R and S; it also appears as SH I.11a.197–234. Clemoes argues that Ælfric originally composed the passage for SH I.11a and transferred it to the version of the *Interrogationes* in R and S ('Chronology', pp. 67–8 n. 61); Pope 'reject[s] outright' Clemoes' idea, viewing the passage as original to the *Interrogationes* (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 456–8); and Fox, finding Pope's arguments 'persuasive', likewise deems the passage as conceptually fitting for the *Interrogationes* ('Ælfric's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*', pp. 29–30). Given that the conclusion does not appear in three other copies of the *Interrogationes*, however (MSS C, P, and W), were the passage composed for that text instead of SH I.11a, the question remains as to whether the augmentation was part of the original. MacLean and Pope offer two possibilities (MacLean leaning towards the latter): that Ælfric 'intended to add a conclusion ... [but] allowed the piece to circulate for a time in an unfinished state' (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 457), or that scribes omitted Ælfric's original conclusion in CPW (MacLean, 'Ælfric's Version', pp. 461–2). Fox finds it 'safe to conclude that the original form of the *Interrogationes*' is that found in R and S ('Ælfric's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*', pp. 29–30), while Clayton argues that Ælfric adds to the *Interrogationes* in R, placing the augmented text in the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010) [phase ε⁴, stage 4b of CH I production] ('Ælfric's *De auguriis*', pp. 390 and 377–8). If Ælfric did compose a shorter version first, such a work might correspond to Clemoes's dating of the *Interrogationes* earlier in the period 993 x 998.
- ⁶⁴ Revised later as *In natali domini* [UK 2 / Belfour 9]; see 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42, 52, 55–6, and 72 n. 101.
- ⁶⁵ Clayton suggests that part of LS 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381], which corresponds to *De octo uitiiis* 12–92 (see below in the period ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]) possibly 'had been circulated in this stand-alone form by Ælfric before being incorporated in [LS 15]' (*Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 10); the date of such circulation, if any, is uncertain, but it seems reasonable to date it along with LS 15 to 993 x 998. See also *De duodecim abusiis* later in the period 993 x 998, as the text was later used to form the latter half of *De octo uitiiis* (lines 93–270).
- ⁶⁶ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 41–2, 56, 66 n. 45, and 71 n. 86.
- ⁶⁷ That is, before the composition of LS 16 [Skeat I.17].
- ⁶⁸ Caesarius of Arles' *Sermo* 54, copied here, is one of the chief sources for LS 16 [Skeat I.17] (Meaney, 'Sources', p. 477).
- ⁶⁹ See 'Chronology', p. 57, and note the connection to the passages now printed as SH II.29 (lines 36–128 perhaps also dateable roughly to the period 993 x 998) that Ælfric may have later used to augment LS 16 [Skeat I.17] below either in the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010) or later in the period 1006–10.
- ⁷⁰ MS K. Archetype 2 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁷¹ Clemoes does not date the interpolations in MS K – the *Ammonitio*, *De sancta Maria*, *Excusatio dictantis*, *Explicit* and *Oratio* – but they appear here alongside creeds and prayers which Clemoes says 'were likely to have been written directly after Sigeric was sent CH II' (*First Series*, p. 161) – that is, 992, after January x June (see notes to this period above). As Godden speaks of all the above as 'belonging to the same early period in [Ælfric's] career' (*Second Series*, p. xliii) this span may serve as a *terminus post quem*, if not an actual date for the interpolations' composition. They could have been composed slightly later, however. The *Ammonitio*, *Explicit* and *Oratio* appear for the first time in K, part of the early stages of First Recension CH II dissemination, datable between ca 993 (after 4 June) and ca 998; the manuscript also contains the earliest copy of Ælfric's *Letter for Wulfsgie* (Fehr I), composed between ca 993 (after 4 June) and ca 995. While K represents Archetype 2 of the First Recension, moreover, *De sancta Maria* and *Excusatio dictantis* also appear in manuscripts from Archetype 1b, produced slightly earlier in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998 (and preceding the *Letter* in ca 993 [after 4 June] x ca 995). We may thus position the texts slightly earlier or later in the span between [A] 992, after January x June and [B] ca 993 (after 4 June) x ca 995.
- ⁷² Earliest witness to note found in MS K.
- ⁷³ For the date of *De sancta Maria*, see above under *Ammonitio*.
- ⁷⁴ For the date of the *Excusatio dictantis*, see above under *Ammonitio*.
- ⁷⁵ For the date of the *Explicit*, see above under *Ammonitio*.
- ⁷⁶ For the date of the *Oratio*, see above under *Ammonitio*.
- ⁷⁷ MS K may represent the earliest copy of this vernacular note that introduces the creeds and prayers that follow in that manuscript.

- ⁷⁸ MS L. Archetype 3 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁷⁹ MSS B and J. Archetype 4 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁸⁰ MS ^{rk}. Archetype 5 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁸¹ MS L. Archetype 3 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁸² Earliest witness to note found in MS Le.
- ⁸³ MS K. Archetype 4 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ⁸⁴ Earliest witness to note found in MS K.
- ⁸⁵ Clemoes, 'Supplement', pp. cxxxiv, cxxxi, and cxliv-cxlv; see also in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x *ca* 995.
- ⁸⁶ See Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 614, and vol. I, p. 147.
- ⁸⁷ Pope suggests that the three non-rhythmical passages that were later incorporated into an augmented form of *CH* II.22 (now comprising *SH* II.25) 'look very early' and 'may actually have been composed almost immediately after the issue of the K-text' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148; and vol. II, p. 753; see also below in the period *ca* 1009 – *ca* 1010).
- ⁸⁸ Pope suggest that lines 141–9, found in MS R, may be an earlier composition (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148). See below for the rest of *SH* II.21 and its reissue in the period *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010).
- ⁸⁹ The material now comprising *SH* II.29, later used in MSS R and S to augment *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17], replaces the last four lines of *LS* 16 with a transitional passage (*SH* II.29.1–3), an account of Macarius and the magicians (*SH* II.29.4–35) taken from *LS* 20 [Skeat I.21.464–95] and an account of Saul and the witch of Endor (*SH* II.29.36–128). Pope attributes the accounts to Ælfric but the transition to the (in his view, anonymous) compiler of the augmented *LS* 16 (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 786–8), suggesting that the accounts may have been composed 'rather early' despite being extant in textually late manuscripts (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148). Clayton, by contrast, convincingly attributes the whole to Ælfric, arguing that he revised *LS* 16 specifically for the R-type collection ('Ælfric's *De auguriis*', pp. 378–83 and 389–90; see also below in the period *ca* 1005–6) – but leaving open the question as to whether *SH* II.29.36–128 was composed then or earlier.
- ⁹⁰ Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 800–1 and 760; vol. I, p. 147; see also below in the periods *ca* 1005–6 (*De uirginitate*) and *ca* 1009–10 (augmented *CH* II.28).
- ⁹¹ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42, 52, 55–6, 61 n. 7, and 66 n. 49; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148; above for lines 141–9; and below in the period *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010).
- ⁹² See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42–3, 46, 56, 59, and 64 n. 28. Parts of *LS* 11 [Skeat I.12] Ælfric draws from *De penitentia*: one part [Skeat *LS* I.12.141–77] replicates *De penitentia*, p. 602, line 1 – p. 604, line 8, while another part [Skeat *LS* I.12.254–67] corresponds to p. 604, lines 8–20; see above in the period after January x June 992.
- ⁹³ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 41–3, 46, 56, and 65 n. 35; and 'Supplement', pp. cxxxiv, cxliv–cxlv.
- ⁹⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 41, 43, 48, and 56. Pope might place *SH* I.4 after *SH* II.21, 2–3, and 5–6, noting that it makes reference to an earlier discussion of Baal found either in *SH* II.21 or *LS* 17 [Skeat I.18] (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 147). The latter, which Pope is 'half inclined to nominate', would mean that *SH* I.4 was issued along with the *Lives*; Clemoes' stance that *SH* I.4 was composed slightly earlier, however, Pope finds 'by no means improbable' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 260; see also p. 333).
- ⁹⁵ That is, between the death of Æthelwold and the publication of the *Lives of Saints*; see Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, p. 553, regarding the *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni*. While the six texts below are tentatively grouped together, being associated by their presence in Y25, note that the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, the sole copy of which is also found in this manuscript, is datable much later: perhaps 16 November 1006 x late 1006; or *ca* 1004 x late 1006. Any final attempt to determine the dates of these texts must account for this discrepancy.
- ⁹⁶ That is, between Ælfric's arrival at Cerne and the publication of *CH* II. Regarding the former, Lapidge suggests that Ælfric's comment in the *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni* that he 'heard that Æthelwold's commands were now being obeyed' may imply that Ælfric was no longer resident at the Old Minster, Winchester (*Cult of St. Swithun*, pp. 572–3 n. 23). Regarding the latter, Lapidge has asserted that Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* 'forms the basis' of *CH* II.10 (*Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; see also *Cult of St. Swithun*, p. 557); his contention has been strongly resisted by Godden, however, who acknowledges Ælfric's debt to Bede's work but finds the collection in Y25 overall as 'not ... very apposite to Ælfric's account of Cuthbert' (*Commentary*, p. 415 n. 6). If the texts in Y25 reflect an early Ælfrician interest in the saint, they may have been collected prior to the composition of *CH* II.10, even if they correspond imperfectly to the sources Ælfric finally used for that homily. On the debate surrounding Y25 and its possible role as a witness to one of Ælfric's Commonplace Books, see 'The Ælfrician Canon', under *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* [3.2.5].
- ⁹⁷ While the text has not been identified as a source for Ælfric's later work, its presence in Y25 alongside other selections from Bede's *Historia* on which Ælfric drew – *Regnauit igitur Osuald, In illo tempore*

- gens and *Accepit autem rex Ecgfrid* – may permit us, in the absence of other evidence, to assign it tentatively to this period as well.
- ⁹⁸ While this anonymous *Historia* does not appear to have served as a source for later Ælfric writings, it concerns a figure whom Ælfric will treat in *CH* II.10 – a homily for which Ælfric prepared by gathering at least three other Lives, including Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, found along with the anonymous *Historia* in Y25. Given such connections, it seems tenable to assign the text tentatively to this period as well.
- ⁹⁹ Ælfric draws on this selection from Bede's *Historia*, which appears in Y25, for his Life of Oswald (LS 24 [Skeat II.26]), further helping to date the text: see Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, p. 557; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; 'Records for Source Title Hist.eccl'; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. 125.
- ¹⁰⁰ As with *Regnaut igitur Osuuld* above, Ælfric draws on this part of the *Historia*, found in Y25, for his Life of Oswald (LS 24 [Skeat II.26]): see Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, p. 557; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; 'Records for Source Title Hist.eccl'; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. II, p. 125.
- ¹⁰¹ Dated between [A] 984 and [B] later in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) x 998 (Lapidge, *The Cult of St. Swithun*, p. 553); on the authorship of this text, see Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, pp. 553–61.
- ¹⁰² Ælfric draws on this selection from Bede's *Historia*, which appears in Y25, for his Life of Æthelthryth (LS 19 [Skeat I.20]), further helping to date the text: see Lapidge, *Cult of St. Swithun*, p. 557; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxlix; 'Records for Source Title Hist.eccl'; and Skeat, *Lives*, vol. I, p. 433.
- ¹⁰³ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42–3, 45, 47, and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 147.
- ¹⁰⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42–3, 45, 47, and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 147.
- ¹⁰⁵ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42–3, 45, 47, and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 147.
- ¹⁰⁶ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42–3, 45, 47, and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 147. Note that Ælfric's homily for the Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent appears in three forms, of which this is the first; see below in the periods 1002–5 [notes to *TH* I and *SH* I.6.209–91].
- ¹⁰⁷ On Ælfric's homily for the Friday after the Fifth Sunday in Lent, see 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42–3, 45, 47, and 56.
- ¹⁰⁸ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 42, 53, 56, and 65 n. 37.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Quomodo Acitofel et multi alii laqueis se suspenderunt* [its title in MS C] appears as a pendant to LS 18 [Skeat I.19] in three manuscripts (L, W, and ^f), as part of a composite text in another (J2) and as an independent piece in two more (C and P1). Clayton states that 'it is hard to know whether the Absalom and Achitophel passage was excerpted from the complete text or whether Ælfric circulated it both independently and as an appendage to [LS 18]' (*Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 30; see also Hill, 'Dissemination', pp. 239 and 246).
- ¹¹⁰ See 'Chronology', pp. 38–9, 41, 56, and 70–1 n. 86; and 'Benedictine Office', pp. 281–2 n. 1, where Clemoes affirms that the text postdates the completion of *CH* II [January 991 – June 992]. Clayton now dates the homily more precisely to *ca* 995 x *ca* 998 (*Two Ælfric Texts*, p. 33). As *De duodecim abusiis* forms the latter half of *De octo uitiiis* (lines 93–270), see below in the period *ca* 1006 – (1009 x 1010); as part of LS 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381] corresponds to *De octo uitiiis* 12–92, furthermore, see above in the period 993 x 998.
- ¹¹¹ See 'Chronology', pp. 37–9, 42, and 56. Hill suggests that Ælfric worked on the *Lives* over 'a period of time' – perhaps some years – given Ælfric's comment that he translated them *me to onhagode* ('as it was convenient for me' or 'as I had leisure'); see 'Dissemination' pp. 236 and 253 n. 9. Keynes defines the period to 994 x *ca* 998, as follows: 'It is generally assumed that Ælfric published his 'Lives of Saints' some time after the publication of his 'Second Series' of homilies (Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', pp. 219–22), in the mid- or later 990s and certainly before the death of Ealdorman Æthelweard (*ca* 998). Godden's statement, to the effect that 'the collection in which it appears was begun after 995 and completed by 1002' ('Apocalypse and Invasion', 133), should be emended on historical grounds to read 'after 994' (death of Archbishop Sigeric) and 'by c 998' (death of Ealdorman Æthelweard)' (Keynes, 'Wulfstan', p. 85 n. 81). Note that Jones, by contrast, would position the Latin preface to the *Lives* before the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, *Grammar*, *Glossary* and *Colloquy* ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18), all of which are here dated early in the period 993 x 998 or (in the case of the *Excerptiones*) slightly before.
- ¹¹² That is, the composition of lines 131–254 and their merger with non-rhythmical lines 1–130 to form the complete homily: see Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 147–8, and vol. II, p. 614; 'Chronology', pp. 39–42, 56, 59, and 66 n. 53; and cf. *SH* II.19.1–130 above and Napier 8 + *SH* II.19 below.
- ¹¹³ LS 23 [Skeat II.25.812–62] as an independent piece appears in MSS Ce, Pa, and R. As Ce [pp. 290–362 (Ker §57.62–73)] contains no Catholic Homilies, it is not dated by Clemoes or Godden; however, the section includes LS 15 [Skeat I.16], *De duodecim abusiis*, *SH* II.19, *SH* II.21, *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, LS 11 [Skeat I.12], LS 12 [Skeat I.13], and part of LS 18 [Skeat I.19.155–258], all plausibly datable to

the period 993 x 998. As the completion of the *Lives* as a whole may be dated later in this period, we may date to the same span the earliest point at which *De tribus ordinibus* may have circulated independently. (If Ælfric composed and circulated the text previously, as he may perhaps have done with *Quomodo Acitofel*, no evidence of such survives; see for example Hill, 'Dissemination', p. 252.) The other manuscript sections in which *De tribus ordinibus* appears may reflect material circulated later: Catholic Homilies in Pa are associated by Clemoes with Phase ε, Stage 1 of CH I production (between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005) and by Godden with Archetype 1 of the Second Recension of CH II production (between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]); while Catholic Homilies in R are associated by Clemoes with Phase ε, Stage 4b of CH I production (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]) and by Godden with Archetype 4 of the Second Recension of CH II production (ca 1009 – ca 1010). As manuscript sections may obviously preserve texts from different stages of authorial dissemination, however, such points of correspondence ultimately are only suggestive.

¹¹⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 41, 45, 48, 54, 56, and 59.

¹¹⁵ The last text known to have been written before the death of Æthelweard; see 'Chronology', pp. 72 n. 101, 52–6, and 71 n. 88.

¹¹⁶ Clayton, 'An Edition', pp. 278 and 277.

¹¹⁷ On the issue of Ælfric's authorship, see Whitelock and Wormald, who view the piece as anonymous (*English Historical Documents*, vol. I, p. 895; and 'Engla Lond', p. 18, respectively); Pope, who attributes the introductory sentence (and thus apparently the compilation) to an anonymous extractor, while averring that 'there is no doubt that all three sections are Ælfric's' (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 56–7); Godden, who accepts Pope's 'attribution ... to Ælfric' of the piece (*Second Series*, p. lxxvii and n. 1); and Clayton, who finds Pope 'very persuasive' and adds her own arguments for Ælfric's authorship of the three sections ('An Edition', pp. 264–5). Clayton likewise sees as anonymous 'the work of whoever adapted the beginning and cut of at least the initial greeting with which a letter would have begun', however, implying that Ælfric was not responsible for the Letter's extant form, even if its parts derived originally from text(s) by Ælfric – multiple works composed at different times, a single Pastoral Letter, or a single private letter (the latter being Clayton's conclusion ['An Edition', pp. 275 and 265 n. 1; see also p. 276]).

¹¹⁸ That is, before Ælfric's composition of *Judith*.

¹¹⁹ The beginning of *Duo reges* distinguishes between two Nebuchadnezzars during the Babylonian Exile; Raynes observes that Ælfric makes the same point – which appears neither in the book of Judith nor 2 Chronicles 36 – at the beginning of his homily *Judith* ('Boulogne-sur-Mer', p. 70).

¹²⁰ To our knowledge, no date has previously been proposed for *De infantibus*. The text survives in MSS Pa, R, and Sb, the contents of which offer ambiguous evidence in this regard. The last is perhaps the most suggestive. As Sb contains no Catholic Homilies, the section is not dated by Clemoes or Godden to a particular period of dissemination; half of its contents, moreover [discounting one sermon not by Ælfric], stem eclectically from earlier in Ælfric's career: the *Hexameron* (later in the period 993 x 998); *De septiformi spiritu*, *Be þam halgan gaste* and *De cogitatione* (998 x 1002); and the *Letter to Brother Edward* (995 x 1000 'or a little later'). The rest, however – the augmented *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*, *De octo uitiiis*, augmented *De auguriis*, and augmented *SH II.21* – are variously associated with Phase ε⁴, Stage 4b, of CH I production (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]). Aside from *Natiuitas sanctae Mariae* [UK 8 / Assmann 3] (ca 1005–6), Sa's contents – *Sermo in natale unius confessoris* [UK 9 / Assmann 4] and eleven *First Series* homilies – are likewise associated with Phase ε^{4b}. MS R would seem to strengthen this connection, as Clemoes associates it with Phase ε^{4b} and Godden connects it with the chronologically-congruous Archetype 4 of the Second Recension of CH II (ca 1009 – ca 1010). With Pa, however, the data becomes more equivocal: one item dates from 992, five from mid-to-late 993 x 998, one from 995 x 1000, four from 998 x 1002 and five Catholic Homilies somewhere in the span 1002 x 1010. Of the ten that involve the year 998, however, eight appear in at least two of our three manuscripts in fairly close proximity to *De infantibus*: *Hexameron*, *SH II.18*, *LS 16* [Skeat I.17] [augmented in RS, during Phase ε^{4b}], *De tribus ordinibus saeculi*, *De cogitatione*, *Letter to Brother Edward*, *De septiformi spiritu* and *Be þam halgan gaste*. Such correspondences may reflect Pope's theory that certain entries in PRS stem from an Ælfrician Commonplace Book on which the manuscripts drew (on which, see *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 57; and Kleist, 'Commonplace Book', pp. 34–5); they may also offer, however, a possible nexus in which to situate *De infantibus*. Given that manuscript sections may preserve texts from different stages of authorial dissemination, any conclusion must remain tentative; nonetheless, two possible dates for the text's composition may be [1] towards the middle of the period 993 x 1002 and [B] ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010) (Phase ε^{4b}; for which, see below).

On the question of authorship, see Pope, who strongly argues that Ælfric was responsible (*Homilies*, p. 56; see also p. 66); Godden, who 'remain[s] doubtful' about Pope's conclusion (*Second*

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- Series*, p. lxvii n. 1); and Clemoes, who deems the text 'in my opinion, not by Ælfric' (*First Series*, pp. 34, 39, and 41).
- ¹²¹ See 'Chronology', pp. 52–6, 71 n. 88, and 72 n. 101.
- ¹²² See 'Chronology', pp. 53–4, 56, and 65 n. 39.
- ¹²³ See 'Chronology', pp. 36, 53–4, and 56.
- ¹²⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 36, 53–4, and 56.
- ¹²⁵ See 'Chronology', pp. 52–4 and 60 n. 6; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148.
- ¹²⁶ See 'Chronology', pp. 49–50, 54, 56, 63 n. 20, and 69 n. 75; and Nicholls, who suggests that the homily was composed at the same time as the main body of the *Lives*, but omitted perhaps because of the number of items already included for January ("Life of Vincent").
- ¹²⁷ See 'Chronology', pp. 54 and 56. Hill agrees that the text was 'written at Cerne, perhaps not long before [Ælfric] went to Eynsham' ('Life and Works', p. 59).
- ¹²⁸ See 'Chronology', pp. 51, 54, and 56. Pope, however, argues that the homily's 'mainly non-rhythmical form points to its having been composed soon after the completion of [CH II]' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 141 n. 1); see above, earlier in the period 993 x 998.
- ¹²⁹ See 'Chronology', pp. 51 and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148.
- ¹³⁰ See 'Chronology', pp. 45–7 and 56.
- ¹³¹ See 'Chronology', pp. 45–7, 56, and 59.
- ¹³² See 'Chronology', pp. 54, 56, and 60 n. 6; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148. Pope also states that 'I am inclined on general grounds to suspect that the excerpt belongs to the period of Ælfric's abbacy; but of this there is no proof' (vol. II, p. 726; noted by Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 206 n. 193).
- ¹³³ See 'Chronology', pp. 54 and 56.
- ¹³⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 54, 56, and 61–2 n. 15.
- ¹³⁵ Revision of *LS* 1 [Skeat 1.1]; see 'Chronology', pp. 52, 55–6, 59, 71 n. 92, and 72 n. 101.
- ¹³⁶ Between Wulfstan's appointment at York (1002) and Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham (later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005).
- ¹³⁷ That is, between Wulfstan's appointment at York and Ælfric's appointment as abbot of Eynsham.
- ¹³⁸ The sequence here of δ^1 and First Recension *CH* II items reflects their liturgical order, appearance in *M* (Ker §21.24 [*CH* I.17] and §§21.25–6, 32, and 34–5 [*SH* I.7–10 and 12]), and Clemoes' reconstruction of *TH* I (*First Series*, Table 1, pp. 78–3; see also 'Chronology', pp. 43–5). For *CH* II.4, see *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 78. As ever, only items revised or composed for this Phase are noted; for the full contents of *TH* I, see 1.4 under 'The Ælfrician Canon'.
- ¹³⁹ For the contemporary nature of phases δ^1 and ϵ^1 , see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 133. On phase ϵ , see *First Series*, pp. 83–5, 112, and 119. Items in ϵ^1 are here presented in liturgical order.
- ¹⁴⁰ MSS *M* and *f*^a. Archetype 6 items are here listed in liturgical order. Archetypes 6 and 7 are here presented in parallel not to suggest strict chronological concurrence, but to facilitate comparison with items from *TH* I / Phase δ^1 .
- ¹⁴¹ MSS *L*, *N*, and *O*. Archetype 7 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ¹⁴² Clemoes suggests that Ælfric associated the *Hexameron* with the First Series at Phase ϵ^1 (*First Series*, p. 119). It also appears in MS *O* as part of the slightly-later Phase δ^2 , serving for Clemoes as evidence that *TH* I likely started at Christmas (*First Series*, p. 79) rather than Septuagesima, as Pope believes (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 78, 74, and 73).
- ¹⁴³ Responding to Clemoes' suggestion that Ælfric 'may have retouched the *CH* II items he included [in the first stage of *TH* I (δ^1), represented by *M*]', Godden notes: 'The evidence of *CH* II collations in fact shows substantial revision of detail by Ælfric in virtually all homilies between *K* and *M* – revision of the kind which, in the First Series, had been completed by the time *K*'s text was produced' (*First Series*, p. 77 and n. 3). Godden may either be confirming Clemoes' deduction, or noting the changes Ælfric made to Second Series material prior to *M* – that is, between Archetypes 2 (MS *K*) and 5 (MS *f*^a) of the First Recension, or up through Archetype 4 of the Second Stage of Phase γ of the First Series (MS *K*, the last version before Phase δ^1 [MS *M*]). Regardless, the textual apparatus of Second Series homilies found in *M* – *CH* II.4–8, 12–16, 19 [extracts being used in a composite homily perhaps not by Ælfric (Godden, 'Composite Homilies')], 22, and 23b (*Second Series*, p. xlv; cf. Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 78–83) – corroborates Clemoes' theory, revealing variants of three or more words (ranging up to multiple sentences) in all cases save for *CH* II.22, where the changes are more subtle: *CH* II.4.293; 5.137–8, 242, 248, and 273; 6.1, 117, 125–7, and 137–9; 7.71 and 81; 8.105–6; 12.59–60, 131, 373, and 579; 13.14, 140, and 261; 14.51–2; 15.172 and 234–5; 16.70–1, 157–8, and 177–8; 19.7 (not by Ælfric), 191–204, 211–44, 244–5, and 268–9; 23b.128–30; and 39.217–19.
- ¹⁴⁴ *TH* I items labelled 'not extant' below are posited by Clemoes to have originally been revised or composed for Phase δ^1 and/or δ^2 , but not preserved in MSS *MNO* (*First Series*, pp. 77–83; and 'Chronology', p. 43). As Pope suggests that *TH* I started with Septuagesima rather than Christmas, however (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 47–8), these putative entries remain uncertain.

- ¹⁴⁵ While Clemoes allows the possibility that Ælfric could have written *SH* I.1 for *TH* I (*First Series*, pp. 78–9 and 82), he seems to view it more as a *TH* II composition (p. 82 and ‘Chronology’, p. 57). For the possibility that Ælfric could have composed both *SH* I.1 and other homilies (noted below) for δ^2 instead of δ^1 , see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82. Pope places *SH* I.1 after Ælfric becomes abbot of Eynsham – that is, closer to *TH* II than *TH* I – seeing it as ‘relatively late because of its easy mastery of a wealth of learning’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149).
- ¹⁴⁶ For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed now-lost homilies for the Sunday after Christmas and First Sunday after Epiphany either for Phase or δ^1 or δ^2 in *TH* I – items falling between *SH* I.1 [Christmas] and *CH* I.8 [Third Sunday after Epiphany] – see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82. Such a contention partially depends on when in the liturgical calendar *TH* I began – Christmas, as Clemoes argues (‘Chronology’, p. 43 and *First Series* [addressing Pope’s contentions], pp. 73–4), or Septuagesima, as Pope believes (*Homilies*, pp. 41–5); see Teresi, ‘Making of a *Temporale* Collection’, pp. 303–8.
- ¹⁴⁷ For Godden’s discussion of Ælfric’s revisions to Second Series items in MS M, see *Second Series*, pp. xlv and n. 2, and xlix.
- ¹⁴⁸ For Godden’s discussion of Ælfric’s revisions to Second Series items in MSS NOL, see *Second Series*, pp. xlix–l.
- ¹⁴⁹ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 78 [with 23b mistakenly printed as ‘xxii (2)’].
- ¹⁵⁰ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 78.
- ¹⁵¹ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 78.
- ¹⁵² See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 80.
- ¹⁵³ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 80.
- ¹⁵⁴ Both Clemoes and Pope hesitate to say for certain whether Irvine 3 was present in *TH* I. In the *First Series*, Clemoes noted that were the homily in *TH* I, it might belong either to δ^1 or δ^2 (p. 82; see also pp. 80–1); earlier in the ‘Chronology’, however, while associating the text with *TH* II (p. 46; see also Irvine, *Old English Homilies*, p. 48), he also suggests that it ‘may well have been’ or even ‘probably’ was part of *TH* I (pp. 46 and 56; see also 45). Pope stated that since Irvine 3 refers to one of the homilies for the Fridays in Lent (*SH* I.2, *SH* I.3, *SH* I.5, *SH* I.6.1–208 and 292–373, and UK 4 / Assmann 5), which Ælfric included in *TH* I, it must postdate them, and may not therefore have been available for inclusion in that set (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 45). In her edition of the homily, however, while she notes that both it and the Friday homilies draw on Augustine’s *In Ioannis euangelium tractatus xlii*, Irvine’s source-study shows no debt to those homilies (apparatus to pp. 61–74; see also ‘Source Summary for Anglo-Saxon Text Irvine 3’). Furthermore, Clemoes had dated the initial composition of the Friday homilies to late in the period 993 x 998; while he suggests that they may have been included in *TH* I, Clemoes does not indicate that they were revised for the occasion (*First Series*, p. 82). For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed now-lost homilies for additional Wednesdays in Lent, see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82.
- ¹⁵⁵ This is the second of three versions of Ælfric’s homily for the Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent, formed in Hc with the insertion of an additional passage on an interpolated leaf (fol. 253); see point three under n. 170 below. Clemoes argues that it ‘may well have been part of [phase δ^1 or δ^2] of *TH* I, though we lack the evidence to prove it today’ (‘Chronology’, p. 46). It does appear as a *TH* II item in MS Hc, but is replaced in *TH* II by *Erat quidam languens Lazarus* III [UK 3 / Belfour 14] in MS B; see *First Series*, pp. 82 and 97; and ‘Chronology’, pp. 46, 45, and 57). See also below under Phase δ^2 and *TH* II.
- ¹⁵⁶ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 80.
- ¹⁵⁷ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 80.
- ¹⁵⁸ For the advanced form of *CH* I.14 in N over M, see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xlix–l and 357, and the summary above.
- ¹⁵⁹ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 80.
- ¹⁶⁰ See Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, pp. 48 and 56, and *First Series*, p. 77; and Teresi, ‘Making of a *Temporale* Collection’, p. 294. Upchurch dates the revision more generally to 998 x 1006 (‘Big Dog’, p. 506).
- ¹⁶¹ See ‘Chronology’, pp. 46 and 56; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 148 and 333; and below in the period 1009 x 1010.
- ¹⁶² See ‘Chronology’, pp. 43 and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 148 and 333.
- ¹⁶³ Extracts used in two composite homilies [Ker §21.27–8] in M (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xlv–xlvii and 180, upper apparatus; and ‘Composite Homilies’, pp. 58 and 61); Clemoes suggests that the homily ‘may have been included’ in *TH* I, and thus possibly retouched along with other Second Series items therein (*First Series*, pp. 77 and 82–3).
- ¹⁶⁴ ‘Probably once in M’ (*First Series*, pp. 82–3).
- ¹⁶⁵ See *First Series*, pp. 77 and n. 3, and 82.
- ¹⁶⁶ See *First Series*, pp. 82–3; ‘Chronology’, pp. 43, 46, 56, 60 n. 6, and 66 n. 50; and Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 148 and 333.

- ¹⁶⁷ See *First Series*, pp. 82–3; ‘Chronology’, p. 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 148 and 333.
- ¹⁶⁸ See *First Series*, pp. 82–3; ‘Chronology’, pp. 53 and 56; and Pope, *Homilies*, pp. 148 and 333.
- ¹⁶⁹ MS P; see also Phase ϵ^3 of CH I production (ca 1005–6), and the augmented form of *Menn behofiað godre lare* in Phase ϵ^4 , Stages 4a and 4b (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]).
- ¹⁷⁰ The sequence here of δ^2 items reflects their liturgical order and Clemoes’ reconstruction of TH I (see n. 138 above). Clemoes provides this abbreviated list of TH I items in his ‘Chronology’: ‘probably’ Irvine 3 [Belfour 7], Napier 8 + SH II.19, SH I.7–10 and 12, expanded CH I.16, expanded CH I.17, and ‘probably ... the homily for Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent’ (p. 56). This list is potentially confusing on four counts. First, it omits items Clemoes later mentions in his fuller treatment in the *First Series* (such as the retouched or revised CH I pieces). Second, it conflates items that Clemoes will later assign to δ^1 and δ^2 . Third, the reference to ‘the homily for Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent’ [*Erat quidam languens Lazarus*] is ambiguous, as three versions of the homily exist: one appears in MSS C, F, and Hc, and is printed as SH I.6.1–208 and 292–373; a second version was formed in Hc with the insertion on an extra leaf (fol. 253) of an additional passage, now interpolated at SH I.6.209–91 [284–91 forming, incidentally, the first eight lines of *De cogitatione*, a text occurring independently in P1 and S]; while a third, excepting portions of the second and considerably revising the beginning, appears in B and is printed as Belfour 14 and collated for SH I.6.209–83 and 318–27 (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 304; for all three versions, see now UK 3). Clemoes dates the homilies for the Fridays of Lent (including, one assumes, the first version of the homily) to the period before Æthelweard’s death ca 998 (‘Chronology’, pp. 38–9, 42, and 56); he also associates the ‘addition to the homily’ in Hc and the ‘extract from the expanded form’ in B (the second and third versions of the homily, respectively) with the publication of TH II after ca 1006 (‘Chronology’, pp. 45 and 57). He also says, however, that ‘the expansion of the homily’ – the ancestor of the second version preserved as an interpolation in Hc, one infers – ‘may well have been part of TH I though we lack the evidence to prove it today’ (‘Chronology’, p. 46). It is this second version, therefore, that the list appears to date along with TH I overall to 1002–5. Fourth, the list sets forth its items in liturgical order until it reaches the last three – the expanded versions of CH I.16, CH I.17, and SH I.6. These three, however, cannot be in strict chronological order, since CH I.16 belongs to δ^2 and CH I.17 belongs to δ^1 . It would appear, therefore, that while the list carefully places TH I in relation to other works composed during this period, it does not chronologically enumerate the contents of TH I itself. Items are thus here grouped by phase of CH I dissemination (δ^1 and δ^2) and set forth following the liturgical calendar, as Ælfric, working through gaps in the *temporale*, may reasonably (though not necessarily) have composed items in this order. See also n. 235 below regarding Clemoes’ TH II list.
- ¹⁷¹ For the contemporary nature of phases δ^2 and ϵ^2 , see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 133. Items in ϵ^2 are here presented in liturgical order.
- ¹⁷² For Clemoes’ suggestion that phases δ^2 and ϵ^3 are ‘contemporary’, see *First Series*, pp. 133. Note, however, that he also describes the latter as ‘slightly later’ than ϵ^2 (*First Series*, p. 116) and argues that Ælfric composed UK 8 / Assmann 3 for phase ϵ^3 during the year intervening between Ælfric’s *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr 2) and his *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr II) (*First Series*, pp. 119 and 84; see also ‘Supplement’, p. xx, and ‘Chronology’, p. 57; Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26; and below in the period ca 1005–6). Items in ϵ^3 are here presented in liturgical order.
- ¹⁷³ MSS E and T. Archetype 8 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ¹⁷⁴ See note for SH I.1 under Phase δ^1 above.
- ¹⁷⁵ See note for the homily for the Sunday after Christmas under Phase δ^1 above.
- ¹⁷⁶ ‘Augmented’, ‘Retouched’ and ‘Revised’ being Clemoes’ terms; see *First Series*, p. 82.
- ¹⁷⁷ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 82; and Teresi, ‘Making of a *Temporale* Collection’, p. 294.
- ¹⁷⁸ See note for *Secundum Iohannem* under Phase δ^1 above.
- ¹⁷⁹ See note for *Lazarus* II under Phase δ^1 above.
- ¹⁸⁰ See *First Series*, p. 82.
- ¹⁸¹ See Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, pp. 43 and 56, and *First Series*, p. 82; and Teresi, ‘Making of a *Temporale* Collection’, p. 294.
- ¹⁸² That is, the untitled homily for the Third Sunday after Easter found only in N, thus associating it with δ^2 ; see Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, pp. 56, 43, and 66 n. 53. (Oddly, Clemoes does not mention the text in his discussion of TH I contents in *First Series*, pp. 77, 80, and 82.) On the authorship of this composite piece, see Godden, *Second Series*, p. xlviii (‘possibly’ by Ælfric) and Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, p. 32; as against Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 614–15, which Teresi finds convincing (‘Making of a *Temporale* Collection’, p. 301 n. 40).
- ¹⁸³ See *First Series*, p. 82.
- ¹⁸⁴ ‘Probably once in M’, though now not extant there (*First Series*, pp. 82–3).
- ¹⁸⁵ Clemoes assigns Ælfric’s expansion of CH I.39 either to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, pp. 119). On this work, see ‘Chronology’, pp. 48, 55, and 57; and *First Series*, pp. 114 and 83.

- ¹⁸⁶ On the date of UK 8 / Assmann 3's composition, see the header for phase ϵ^3 above.
- ¹⁸⁷ As found in MSS Bdl and Cb, respectively.
- ¹⁸⁸ MS P; see also Phase ϵ^3 of CH I production (ca 1005–6), and the augmented form of *Menn behofiað godre lare* in Phase ϵ^4 , Stages 4a and 4b (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]).
- ¹⁸⁹ The text likely falls between [1a] January 991 – June 992 or [1b] 1002 and [B] early in the period 1006 x 1014–16 – that is, between the completion of CH II (or Wulfstan's elevation as bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York in 1002) and Wulfstan's composition of his *Canons of Edgar*. On the one hand, Godden states that *De sabbato* is 'very closely parallel' and 'undoubtedly closely related' to CH II.12.274–84 and 308–11 ('Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', pp. 282–3; and *Commentary*, pp. 456–7); while Ælfric's Latin version may predate CH II [completed in the period January 991 – June 992], he may have had more cause to compose in the course of his exchanges with Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York from 1002. On the other hand, Wormald notes that Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* 'draw heavily' on the *Canon Law Collection*; as he dates the *Canons of Edgar* early in the period between 1005–6 [Ælfric's Pastoral Letters] and 1014–16 [Swein's conquest and Cnut's accession], and, furthermore, 'no earlier than 1006' ('Archbishop Wulfstan', pp. 17–18 and 26), these years give us a *terminus ante quem* for *De sabbato*'s composition.
- ¹⁹⁰ That is, contemporary with Ælfric's *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* and *Second Latin Letter for Wulfstan*; and before the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Jones, 'Medieval Latin Author', p. 18 – though note also his concurrent study, 'Two Composite Texts', where he opens the tentative possibility that the Eynsham letter may have served as a source for *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* [p. 253]). On the dating of these texts, see further Kleist, 'Commonplace Book', pp. 63–5.
- ¹⁹¹ On the authorship of *De ecclesiastica consuetudine*, see Fehr, who firmly attributes this compilation of extracts to Ælfric ('Das Benediktiner-Offizium', pp. 340–2, and *Hirtenbriefe*, p. lxvii); Bethurum, who finds the compiler's methodology as perhaps more reminiscent of Wulfstan than Ælfric (*Homilies*, p. 345); Clemons, who sees in the compiler's method no connection to Ælfric at all ('Benedictine Office', pp. 276–7, and 'Supplement', pp. cxlvi–cxlvii); and Jones, whose more detailed study of the text's methodology and sources finds 'a connection of some kind no longer ... so remote' ('Two Composite Texts', pp. 254–5; see further pp. 241–55, and 'Medieval Latin Author', pp. 13–14).
- ¹⁹² On the authorship of the *Institutio beati Amalarii*, see Jones, 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 241–55. Jones does not include the *Institutio* in his provisional chronology of Ælfric's Latin works ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18), but given the connections (such as they are) between it and *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* – their presence in X^a and Y29; and their reliance on the *Regularis concordia* and Amalarius' *Liber officialis* (see 'Two Composite Texts', pp. 234, 237, and 241; as well as the discussion below regarding the possible change in Ælfric's use of Amalarius) – it seems not unreasonable to place the text tentatively here.
- ¹⁹³ As Ælfric writes as *frater* to *archiepiscopus* in his *Latin Letter to Wulfstan*, the text is datable to the period between Wulfstan's move to York (1002) and Ælfric's move to Eynsham (later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005).
- ¹⁹⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 54, 56, and 72 n. 101.
- ¹⁹⁵ Clemons dates SH I.11 between Ælfric's *Latin Letter to Wulfstan* and *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* ('Chronology', pp. 56 and 72 n. 101; see also pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, and 59; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148). See also below in the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010), under [1] Production of TH II and [B] Production of Phase ϵ^4 , Stage 4b, of CH I.
- ¹⁹⁶ Godden suggests that Ælfric carried out this substantial revision of CH II perhaps after becoming abbot and prior to producing TH II (*Second Series*, pp. xciv and xc).
- ¹⁹⁷ MSS P and G; see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii, lxvii, lxxv, and lxxvii–lxxviii. Archetype 1 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ¹⁹⁸ After Ælfric's move to Eynsham later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005, but not necessarily before the death of Archbishop Ælfric on 16 November 1005.
- ¹⁹⁹ Clemons suggests that Ælfric may have composed *De septem gradibus* 'at much the same time' with his *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* [Fehr 2] ('Benedictine Office', p. 281), but Jones places it before the composition of the prefaces to CH I ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18; see also p. 11 n. 46); see above in the period between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991.
- ²⁰⁰ Clemons suggests that Ælfric may have composed *Isidori de sacerdotibus* 'at much the same time' as his *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* [Fehr 2] ('Benedictine Office', p. 281), but Jones places it before the composition of the prefaces to CH I ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18; see also p. 11 n. 46); see above in the period between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991.
- ²⁰¹ Clemons suggests that Ælfric may have composed *Beati Hieronimi excerpta* concurrently with his *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* [Fehr 2] ('Benedictine Office', p. 281), but Jones places it before the composition of the prefaces to CH I ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18; see also p. 11 n. 46); see above in the period between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991.

Appendix 4

- ²⁰² See 'Chronology', pp. 54 and 56–7; and Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. xlix–lii; while noting Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26.
- ²⁰³ See 'Chronology', pp. 54 and 56–7; and Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. xlvii; while noting Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26.
- ²⁰⁴ Pope says that 'there is little to be learned about the date of this addition', though he does affirm that the two manuscripts that contain it, MSS P [*CH* II Second Recension, Archetype 1] and $\mathfrak{f}^b$ [Archetype 6], 'represent a textual tradition later than Thorpe's K' – that is, the production of [1] Phase- γ K-type copies of *CH* I between 993 – ca 998 x 1002 and [B] Archetype 2 of the early stages of dissemination of the First Recension of *CH* II between ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998 (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 751).
- ²⁰⁵ Pope does not speak specifically about the date of *SH* II.28, though he does suggest that 'it is perhaps idle to speculate on most of the additions to homilies of *CH* II' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148).
- ²⁰⁶ MSS V and X^a, both of which show some agreement with MS P [Archetype 1] (Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxxi–lxxiii); note also the overlap of texts revised in these archetypes. Archetype 6 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ²⁰⁷ On which text, see Archetype 1 above, between [A] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 and [B] ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010).
- ²⁰⁸ See 'Chronology', pp. 54 and 57; and Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. xlvii. In his edition of the *Letter*, while Jones offers 'ca 1005' as a cautious date, he points to Ælfric's statement in the *Letter* that the Eynsham monks have obeyed him *iam preteritis annis* ('for years now'), observing: 'Ælfric by his own account composed the document two or more years after his appointment. The shadow of doubt accordingly falls across the assumption that the customary must have been one of the first works Ælfric produced as abbot' (*Letter*, p. 11; for Hill's agreement with Jones' assessment, see her 'Life and Works', p. 62).
- ²⁰⁹ That is, before the composition of the *Letter to Sigeweard*.
- ²¹⁰ See also n. 13 above in the period between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991.
- ²¹¹ This self-contained selection from Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* (lines 676–814) appears as an independent work in MSS H and X^b [Ker §§220.7 and 239.22]. As with lines 866–8 and 889–923 therein (*Witan sceoldon smeagan and Be þam Iudeiscum*), if the passage is original to the *Letter*, it could readily have been extracted by a later compiler, as it is a self-contained unit understandable on its own. Certain factors, however, raise the possibility that in all three cases Ælfric may have been mining pieces he had previously composed. All three appear after Ælfric's systematic progression through the Bible, rather than being integrated into that narrative. All three preserve variations on a closing formula ('God ... se þe a rixað. Amen' ['God, who reigns forever, Amen' (lines 814, 888, and 923)]) that appear nowhere else in the *Letter*, including its final end. All three appear toward the end of the lengthy *Letter*, when Ælfric might conceivably have been more inclined to take expeditious means to reach his conclusion. And all three do appear in some form independently: *Hieronimus se wurpfulla* in H and X^b, *Be þam Iudeiscum* immediately before in X^b, and *Witan sceoldon smeagan* was adapted by Wulfstan for inclusion in his *Institutes of Polity*. *Hieronimus se wurpfulla* in particular one could imagine Ælfric composing and circulating separately before incorporating it into the *Letter*, as there Ælfric introduces it with a sentence not found in H or X^b: 'Ic mæg þe secgan git sum þing be Iohanne ...' ('I may tell you something further about John ...' [lines 673–6]). One could readily imagine the text being composed and circulated separately by Ælfric before being incorporated into the *Letter to Sigeweard*, which it would then predate. Further precision, however, may not be possible at this time.
- ²¹² This selection from Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* (lines 889–923) appears as an independent work in X^b. As discussed above under *Hieronimus se wurpfulla*, a number of factors raise the possibility that the section was one Ælfric previously composed. This text, however, is more problematic: see the discussion of *Be þam Iudeiscum* [4.4.3] in 'The Ælfrician Canon'.
- ²¹³ This self-contained selection from Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* (lines 866–88) appears nowhere independently. Given its similarity to two other self-contained passages therein, however – *Hieronimus se wurpfulla* and *Be þam Iudeiscum* – it is conceivable that it too may have originally formed a separate work. See *Hieronimus se wurpfulla* above.
- ²¹⁴ See 'Chronology', pp. 47, 53–4, 57–8, 65 n. 39, 68 n. 63, 70 n. 82, and 71 n. 89. Swain places the piece more generally in the period 1003 x 1009 (*Letter to Sigeweard* [unpaginated, under 'Date']).
- ²¹⁵ See 'Chronology', pp. 52, 54, 55, 57, and 67 n. 55. For the expanded version of this letter, see below in the period ca 1005 x ca 1010.
- ²¹⁶ See 'Chronology', pp. 44, 45, 47, 52, 54, 55, 57, and 59.
- ²¹⁷ While Clemons describes phases δ^2 and ϵ^3 as 'contemporary' (see *First Series*, p. 133 and above in the period between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005), he not only views the latter as 'slightly later' than ϵ^2 (*First Series*, p. 116), but dates UK 8 / Assmann 3, which he posits Ælfric composed specifically for this recension of *CH* I, to the year between Ælfric's *First Latin Letter for Wulfstan* (written after coming to Eynsham later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005) and *First*

- Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (completed, as he tells us in his preface to the latter [Fehr II §1 (*Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 68)], the year after his arrival); see *First Series*, pp. 84–5; ‘Supplement’, p. xx; ‘Chronology’, pp. 48, 52, 54–7, and 70 n. 84; and note Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26). Clemoes suggests that Ælfric composed UK 8 / Assmann 3 ‘likely ... at the third stage’ of ‘a Q-type recension’ – that is, phase ϵ^3 (*First Series*, pp. 119 and 84). For the dating of UK 8 / Assmann 3 to ca 1005–6, see also Clayton, ‘Ælfric and the Nativity’, pp. 295–6; and Upchurch, ‘A Big Dog Barks’, p. 507.
- ²¹⁸ Clemoes assigns Ælfric’s expansion of CH I.39 either to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, pp. 119). On this work, see ‘Chronology’, pp. 48, 55, and 57; and *First Series*, pp. 114 and 83.
- ²¹⁹ On the dating of UK 8 / Assmann 3, see header to phase ϵ^3 above.
- ²²⁰ MS T; see also Phase ϵ^1 of CH I production (between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005), and the augmented form of *Menn behofiað godre lare* in Phase ϵ^4 , Stages 4a and 4b (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]).
- ²²¹ For the dating of *De uirginitate*, see Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, p. 57 – while noting Kezel, who, while not challenging Clemoes’ date, refers to *De sancta uirginitate* [here dated ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)] as the first of the two works (‘Ælfric the Benedictine’, pp. 164–5 and 171). Clemoes originally viewed this compilation of Assmann 2.132–88, SH II.19.34–42 and 53–60, and SH II.30 as Ælfric’s own work (‘Chronology’, pp. 52; see also 49, 52, 55, 59, and 70 n. 84); after Pope attributed it ‘to some less gifted preacher’ (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 802), however, he moderated his position to describe the work as one ‘for which Ælfric himself may or may not have been responsible’ (*First Series*, p. 47). Kezel, on the other hand, more recently reviewing the evidence, concludes that ‘we are reasonably justified in viewing [both *De uirginitate* and *De sancta uirginitate*] as authentic works of Ælfric’ (‘Ælfric the Benedictine’, p. 171; see also pp. 163–70).
- The final section of this work, the non-rhythmical ‘more or less independent discourse on tithes and first-fruits’ now printed as SH II.30.75–114, also appears in MS R as the latter of two additions to CH II.28 (the former now printed as SH II.26); Pope describes the brief transition between the additions (‘Ge hyrdon nu ... eow sceortlice seggan’) as probably authorial (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 800–1 and 760; see also vol. I, p. 148, above in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998 [SH II.30.75–114], and below in the period ca 1009–10 [augmented CH II.28]).
- ²²² That is, the year after Ælfric’s arrival at Eynsham later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005 (Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 68; and Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 84–5, and ‘Chronology’, pp. 55–6), and thus probably (though not necessarily) before Ælfheah’s move to Canterbury and Cenwulf’s succession at Winchester.
- ²²³ To my knowledge, no date has been proposed for this text – that is, the mostly lost work by Ælfric which survives as Wulfstan’s *Institutes of Polity* 23.1–5, as opposed to *Institutes* 23 as a whole, or *Institutes* 22, both of which are also titled *Be gehadedum mannum*. It may fall between [A] 1002 and [B] 1008 x 1010 – that is, after Wulfstan becomes bishop of Winchester [1002–16] and archbishop of York [1002–23], and Wulfstan’s composition of the first edition of the *Institutes* (dated by Jost to 1008 x 1010 [*Die ‘Institutes of Polity’*, pp. 33–4], and more generally by Wormald to the period between 1005–6 [Ælfric’s Pastoral Letters] and 1014–16 [‘Archbishop Wulfstan’, p. 26]). Not only could Ælfric have composed the work earlier in his career, however, but Clemoes notes, if an anonymous editor combined *Be gehadedum mannum* with Wulfstan’s writings, ‘Wulfstan himself may never have known the particular work by Ælfric from which the extract was taken’ (‘Benedictine Office’, pp. 281–2 n. 1; see also Jost, *Die ‘Institutes of Polity’*, p. 28). The surrounding contents of MS T are of little help, moreover, as the only Ælfrician material that might offer an indirect hint at dating appears at the end of the manuscript: ‘early additions to the original collection’ perhaps in the main hand [Ker §338.27–30], which include Ælfric’s *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr III) and a homiletic adaptation of his *Letter to Wulfgeat* [Assmann I] – as opposed to the ‘later additions’ in five different hands [§338.31–9] involving material from the *Catholic Homilies* (Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 416–17; see also Godden, *Second Series*, lii [Tc1] and cf. Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 45 [Tg]). Assmann I and Fehr III both date to ca 1005 x 1006, a period of particular traffic between Ælfric and Wulfstan, and it might be tempting to locate *Be gehadedum mannum* to this period; ultimately, however, we may not be able to say.
- ²²⁴ See ‘Chronology’, pp. 54, 55, and 57, while noting also Jones, *Letter*, p. 25 n. 26. Hill also notes that while ‘in the short letter accompanying the Old English versions of the two pastoral letters [i.e., the Latin prologue to Ælfric’s *First Old English Letter for Wulfstan* (Fehr II, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, pp. 68–9)] Ælfric refers to himself as “abbot” ... it does not follow that the preceding Latin versions were written after the move to Eynsham’ (‘Life and Works’, p. 58; referring to Hill, ‘Monastic Reform’ and ‘Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?’).
- ²²⁵ See ‘Chronology’, pp. 54, 55, and 57. In his edition of the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, however, Jones observes that ‘The relative chronological order [Fehr] I (992 x 1002), then (ca 1005) [Fehr] 2 and 3 and the LME, followed (ca 1006) by [Fehr] II and III, has been generally accepted since Fehr (*Hirtenbriefe*,

- p. xlvii), although his arguments are questionable to the extent that they assume dependence on [Fehr] III on the *LME*. I incline toward [Joyce] Hill's view that Ælfric drew from the *Concordia* directly for [Fehr] III; see her "Monastic Reform and the Secular Church, p. 107, n. 10" (*Letter*, p. 25 n. 26). See also above for Hill's observation regarding the Latin letters vis-à-vis Ælfric's move to Eynsham.
- ²²⁶ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric may have composed the *Decalogus* concurrently with his *Second Old English Letter for Wulfstan* [Fehr III] ('Benedictine Office', p. 281), but Jones places it before the composition of the prefaces to *CH I* ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 18; see also p. 11 n. 46); see above in the period between [A] ca 964 x 970 and [B] January x June 991.
- ²²⁷ See 'Chronology', pp. 57, 54, 71 n. 92, 52, and 36.
- ²²⁸ See 'Chronology', pp. 57, 54, and 36.
- ²²⁹ Simply 1006 if one follows versions A and CDEF of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* but not the late evidence of Wharton [see above].
- ²³⁰ Ælfric addresses the *Vita* to Cenwulf, bishop of Winchester from perhaps 16 November 1006 to late 1006, noting (perhaps in broad terms) that twenty years have passed since the death of bishop Æthelwold in 984; Ælfric's composition of the *Vita* may thus be dated either to Cenwulf's episcopacy or more broadly to the period between ca 994 and Cenwulf's death.
- ²³¹ Pope, agreeing with McIntosh ('Wulfstan's Prose', p. 129), suggests that Ælfric translated the charter 'when he was at work on Æthelwold's Life' ('Ely Privilege', p. 111).
- ²³² See 'Chronology', pp. 56–7; Jones suggests that the text 'may be nearly contemporary' with the *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* [ca 1005] ('Medieval Latin Author', p. 10).
- ²³³ Between the death of Cenwulf and Æthelwold's first-known episcopal attestations in charters.
- ²³⁴ Given the amount of work that no doubt faced Ælfric in his first year at Eynsham, and the number of texts he appears to have written during that time, Clemoes suggests that over a year likely passed between his arrival in 1005 and his final phase of *CH I* revision (*First Series*, p. 85). Pope, moreover, suggests that one *TH II* piece, *SH II.14*, may have been composed as late as 1009 or 1010.
- ²³⁵ As with his itemized list of *TH I* homilies ('Chronology', p. 56; see notes 138 and 170 above), Clemoes situates the *TH II* set chronologically in relation to other works (e.g., *De sex etatibus huius seculi* immediately before and *De sancta uirginitate* immediately after), but does not list in chronological order the contents of *TH II* itself: *SH I.11a*, for an unspecified occasion, comes first, followed by nine homilies (*SH I.1* through *Irvine 2*) in their liturgical order, with three expansions (*SH I.7.94–161*, *SH II.26*, and *SH II.27*) bringing up the rear, even as other expansions do in his *TH I* list ('Chronology', p. 57). Here, the list of *TH II* items follows the liturgical calendar, as Ælfric, working through gaps in the *temporale*, may reasonably (though not necessarily) have composed items in this order. For Clemoes' understanding of the contents of *TH II*, see 'Chronology', pp. 45–7, and *First Series*, Table II, pp. 90–7. For the integrated liturgical chronology of items from *TH II*, phase ζ of *CH I*, and Archetypes 2–3 of the Second Recension of *CH II*, see Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 138–40.
- ²³⁶ On the possible subdivisions of Phase ε, Stage 4 – which are here presented in parallel not to suggest strict chronological concurrence, but to facilitate comparison – see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 122. Items in ε⁴ are here presented in liturgical order, and then alphabetically for non-liturgical works.
- ²³⁷ On texts possibly representing a 'slightly later stage than Q's' – that is, ε^{4b} – see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 122, 156, and 160. Clayton attributes the compilation of the R-type collection directly to Ælfric, associating it with Phase ε⁴ of *CH I* production ('Ælfric's *De auguriis*', pp. 390; and *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 33–4), while Clemoes associates the *CH I* material in R specifically with phase ε⁴, stage 4b, as discussed above. Furthermore, Clayton argues that Ælfric augmented the *Interrogationes*, and possibly *SH II.21* and *CH II.28* [see Archetype 4 of the Second Recension of *CH II* for this version of *CH II.28*], perhaps at a slightly earlier sub-stage – 4b1, if you will – while producing *De octo uitiiis* (incorporating *De duodecim abusiis*), augmenting *LS 16* [Skeat I.17] and *Menn behofiað godre lare* [*CH I*.pref.57–119], and writing *Her geendað seo forme boc* [the MS R Colophon] for what would be stage 4b2 ('Ælfric's *De auguriis*', p. 390; see also pp. 389 and 378).
- ²³⁸ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric associated UK 9 / Assmann 4, possibly *SH I.4* and *SH I.11* with the First Series at phase ε⁴ [ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010)] (*First Series*, p. 119). UK 9 was not only written for Æthelwold II (see the Latin dedication to the homily in Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, p. 49), but Clayton argues that the homily 'would seem to have been written soon after Æthelwold's installation as bishop' – that is, early in the period following late 1006 x 1007 ('Of Mice and Men', p. 2; see also Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics*, p. 11).
- ²³⁹ MS Hc, U, and V; see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 85. Given the amount of work that no doubt faced Ælfric in his first year at Eynsham, and the number of texts he appears to have written during that time, Clemoes suggests that over a year likely passed between his arrival in 1005 and his final phase of *CH I* revision (*First Series*, p. 85); phase ζ would thus fall early in the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010), especially as Clemoes views it as 'being probably contemporary with the latest manifestation of [phase ε⁴ in ca 1005–6]' (p. 133). Phase ζ items are here listed in liturgical order.

- ²⁴⁰ MS Hc; see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and xxiii. Archetype 2 items are here listed in liturgical order. Archetypes 2 and 3 are here presented in parallel not to suggest strict chronological concurrence, but to facilitate comparison with items from TH II and Phase ζ.
- ²⁴¹ MS U; see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii, lxxi, lxxvii, xciv, xc, and apparatus to 254; Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 45, and *First Series*, pp. 77 and 92–5. Archetype 3 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ²⁴² While Clemoes allows the possibility that Ælfric could have written SH I.1 for TH I (*First Series*, p. 82), he seems to view it more as a TH II composition (*First Series*, p. 82, and 'Chronology', p. 57; see also See *First Series*, pp. 90–1). Pope too places SH I.1 after Ælfric becomes abbot of Eynsham, seeing it as 'relatively late because of its easy mastery of a wealth of learning' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149).
- ²⁴³ For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed new homilies for TH II for these Sundays after Epiphany, see Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 91.
- ²⁴⁴ TH II items labelled 'not extant' below are posited by Clemoes to have originally been revised or composed for this series, but not preserved in MSS BHcU (*First Series*, pp. 90–7; and 'Chronology', pp. 45–6).
- ²⁴⁵ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, and apparatus for 68–9.
- ²⁴⁶ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric associated SH I.4 (possibly), SH I.11, and UK 9 / Assmann 4 with the First Series at phase ε⁴ (*First Series*, p. 119).
- ²⁴⁷ See note for *Secundum Iohannem* under Phase δ¹ of TH I above in the period between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005.
- ²⁴⁸ See note for *Lazarus* II under Phase δ¹ above of TH I above in the period between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005.
- ²⁴⁹ This is the third of three versions of Ælfric's homily for the Friday after the Fourth Sunday in Lent, formed in MS Bc, is an excerpt from the second that draws both on the original text and the interpolation in Hc; see point three under n. 170 above. Clemoes associates this version with the publication of TH II ('Chronology', pp. 45 and 57), thus suggesting that Ælfric expanded and revised the homily at various points in his career – namely, [1] later in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) x 998, [2] between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005, and [3] ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010), respectively. See also *First Series*, pp. 92–3.
- ²⁵⁰ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii and 166, apparatus.
- ²⁵¹ MS R; version in MS Tb authentically expanded as in N (δ²).
- ²⁵² On *Modicum et iam non uidebitis me*, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 92–3; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 339 for its chronological relation to SH I.7.94–161.
- ²⁵³ See Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 57, and *First Series*, pp. 92–3; Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 339, 333, 337, and 148; and above in the period between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005.
- ²⁵⁴ Extract possibly altered and expanded by Wulfstan, incorporated into Bazire and Cross 8. Where Clemoes initially associates Tc4 but generally with phase ε – stating at one point that Tc4 'cannot be placed within any subdivision' (*First Series*, p. 119; see also p. 117), he ultimately states that 'it would be perverse to postulate a different origin' for these lines than the Stage 4b exemplar from which R, Sa, Tb, Tc1, and Td derive (*First Series*, p. 156).
- ²⁵⁵ As noted above regarding SH II.29.36–128 in the period 993 x 998, the material now comprising SH II.29 was later used in MSS R and S to augment LS 16 [Skeat I.17], replacing the last four lines of LS 16 with a transitional passage (SH II.29.1–3), an account of Macarius and the magicians (SH II.29.4–35) taken from LS 20 [Skeat I.21.464–95], and an account of Saul and the witch of Endor (SH II.29.36–128). Pope attributes the accounts to Ælfric but the transition and the augmentation overall to an anonymous compiler (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 786–8, as against vol. I, pp. 64 and 148). Clayton, by contrast, convincingly attributes the whole to Ælfric, arguing that he revised LS 16 specifically for the R-type collection – associated, as we have seen above, with phase ε⁴, stage 4b ('Ælfric's *De auguriis*', pp. 378–83 and 389–90; and *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 24–5 and 34; see also Gretsch, *Ælfric*, pp. 190–1). For Clemoes' later dating of the augmentation, see 'Chronology', pp. 57 and 52, and below in the period 1006–10. See also note above under Phase ε⁴, Stage 4b, regarding the potential two stages of the R-type collection.
- ²⁵⁶ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric associated SH I.11 with the temporale series at TH II rather than TH I (dated to the period between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005).
- ²⁵⁷ Clemoes suggests that Ælfric associated SH I.11, possibly SH I.4 and UK 9 / Assmann 4 with the First Series at phase ε⁴ (*First Series*, p. 119).
- ²⁵⁸ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, lxxi and n. 1, and 217, apparatus.
- ²⁵⁹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 94–5; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149, and vol. II, p. 493.
- ²⁶⁰ Pope places SH II.14 towards the middle or end of Ælfric's abbacy, perhaps having been composed as late as 1009 or 1010 (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 513; see also p. 493, vol. I, p. 149; and Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 94–5).

- ²⁶¹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 94–5; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149.
- ²⁶² See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, lxxi and n. 1, and apparatus for 231–2 and 234.
- ²⁶³ See Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, lxxi and n. 1, and apparatus for 235–7 and 239.
- ²⁶⁴ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 94–5; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149.
- ²⁶⁵ Clemoes includes the partial expansion of CH II.28 in MS H in the contents of TH II (*First Series*, pp. 94–5), and Godden associates the manuscript with Archetype 2 of the Second Recension of CH II (see discussion above). The full augmentation of CH II.28 in MS R, however, Godden assigns to Archetype 4, perhaps slightly after TH II (see the discussion of Archetype 4 above; ‘Chronology’, p. 57 for Clemoes’ late dating of the augmented homily; and below in the period ca 1009 – ca 1010). This said, as noted above, Clemoes also associates MS R with phase ϵ^4 , stage 4b, of CH I production – roughly contemporary with TH II – and Clayton argues that Ælfric composed the augmented CH II.28 specifically for the R-type collection (‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, p. 389). It may be that the distinction, however – should the augmented CH II.28 be dated with TH II, phase ϵ^4 , Archetype 2, or Archetype 4? – is inconsequential, as TH II includes SH II.14, datable as late as 1009 x 1010, and Archetype 4 may be dated to ca 1009 – ca 1010. On the revisions to CH II.28 in Hc, see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, and apparatus for 319–20 and 323.
- ²⁶⁶ Godden associates the partial expansion of CH II.28 in MS H with Archetype 2 of the Second Recension of CH II (see discussion above). The full augmentation of CH II.28 in MS R, however, Godden assigns to Archetype 4, perhaps slightly after TH II: see the discussion of Archetype 4 above, and below in the period ca 1009 – ca 1010.
- ²⁶⁷ Pope does not speak specifically about the date of SH II.26 (an addition to CH II.28), though he does suggest that ‘it is perhaps idle to speculate on most of the additions to homilies of CH II’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148). See, however, the note on SH II.26 under TH II.
- ²⁶⁸ New composition incorporating CH II.23b: SH II.17.203–76 corresponds to CH II.23.127 (*we wyllað*) – 28 (*geleafan*) and 131 (*Ure drihten*) – 97 (*gehealtsumnysse*) (Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 95). Note that Clemoes associates the text with the Thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost (*First Series*, p. 94; ‘Chronology’ pp. 45–6 and 57), while Pope entitles it the Twelfth Sunday (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 563). On the revisions to CH II.23b in Hc, see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. lxvi and n. 1, and apparatus for 219–20. On the text’s date, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 94–5; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 149.
- ²⁶⁹ Pope places SH II.17 among pieces written after Ælfric becomes abbot of Eynsham (now later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005), but calls it ‘the least datable’ of such SH works (*Homilies*, vol. I, 149; see also vol. II, pp. 565 and 493–4).
- ²⁷⁰ For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed new homilies for TH II for these Sundays after Pentecost, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 94–7.
- ²⁷¹ See *First Series*, pp. 96–7; and ‘Chronology’, pp. 45 and 57. As with other expansions of CH II homilies, Pope calls the date of SH II.27 (an addition to CH II.31) ‘doubtful’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148).
- ²⁷² For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed new homilies for TH II for these Sundays after Pentecost, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 96–7.
- ²⁷³ For the place of *Erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur Capharnaum* in TH II, see *First Series*, pp. 96–7, and ‘Chronology’, p. 57.
- ²⁷⁴ For the place of *Simile est regnum celorum homini regi* in TH II, see *First Series*, pp. 96–7, and ‘Chronology’, p. 57.
- ²⁷⁵ For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed new homilies for TH II for these Sundays after Pentecost, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 96–7.
- ²⁷⁶ MS Q; see also Phases ϵ^1 (between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005) and ϵ^3 (ca 1005–6) of CH I production, and the augmented form of *Menn behofiað* in Phase ϵ^4 , Stage 4b (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]).
- ²⁷⁷ For the suggestion that Ælfric may have composed new homilies for TH II for these Sundays in Advent, see Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 96–7.
- ²⁷⁸ MS Sa; another version in MS Cb is conflated with a β -phase copy and possibly associated with this stage.
- ²⁷⁹ On the dating of UK 9 / Assmann 4, see header to phase ϵ^4 above.
- ²⁸⁰ While Clemoes does not list SH I.11a, a homily for an unspecified occasion (Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 142), in his table of TH II items (*First Series*, pp. 90–7), he does identify it as a new composition for TH II (‘Chronology’, pp. 45–6). Pope notes, however, that ‘If [SH I.11a] is a compilation from several of Ælfric’s works made by someone else, the fact that one passage is drawn from a letter written during Ælfric’s abbacy (Assmann 1 [for which date, see above early in the period 1005–6]) tells us nothing about the date of composition of any other passage’ (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148). On the authorship of the text, see Pope, who does not view Ælfric as the compiler (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 453); Godden, who describes SH I.11a as a compilation ‘which may be by Ælfric’ (*Second Series*, p. lxvi); and Clemoes, who at one point speaks of it as ‘a probably not authentic compilation’ (*First Series*,

- p. 88 – perhaps preserving an early opinion dating back to his 1955 thesis?) but elsewhere affirms that ‘there can be little doubt’ that Ælfric was responsible (‘Chronology’, pp. 44–5 and 68 n. 61; and ‘Supplementary Introduction’, p. xiii, which explicitly acknowledges and disagrees with Pope). Note that *SH* I.11a.197–234 also appears as the rhythmical conclusion of the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* in MSS R and S, and may have been composed (perhaps earlier?) for that text: see notes on the *Interrogationes* below under Phase ϵ^4 , Stage 4b, of *CH* I; and above, earlier in the period 993 x 998.
- ²⁸¹ Augmented with lines 141–9 in MSS R and S (Pope, *Homilies*, p. 673–4; see also Clayton, ‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 377–8). Clayton argues that Ælfric composed this text along with augmentations of the *Interrogationes*, *De octo uitiiis*, and *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17] specifically for the R-type collection (‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 389 and 378), a manuscript Clemoes associates with phase ϵ^4 , stage 4b. Clemoes himself, however, dates the augmented text slightly after *TH* II (see below). See also note above under Phase ϵ^4 , Stage 4b, regarding the potential two stages of the R-type collection.
- ²⁸² Clayton argues that Ælfric composed this colophon in MS R specifically for the R-type collection, which she associates with Phase ϵ^4 of *CH* I production (‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 390; and *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 33–4), and which Clemoes associates with phase ϵ^4 , stage 4b, as discussed above. See also note above under Phase ϵ^4 , Stage 4b, regarding the potential two stages of the R-type collection.
- ²⁸³ On the possible dates and debated authorship of *De infantibus*, see above in the period 998 x 1002.
- ²⁸⁴ The augmentation consists of the doxology on the Trinity in rhythmical prose (Stoneman 550–88 / MacLean 511–45, starting ‘ac we secgað nu’) found in MSS R and S, and according to Clayton composed along with augmentations of *De octo uitiiis*, *LS* 16 [Skeat I.17], and *SH* II.21 specifically for the R-type collection (‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 389 and 378), a manuscript Clemoes associates with phase ϵ^4 , stage 4b. As noted above, however (see earlier in the period 993 x 998), Clemoes argues that Ælfric originally composed the passage for *SH* I.11a, transferring it later to the version of the *Interrogationes* in R and S (‘Chronology’, pp. 67–8 n. 61). Pope, however, ‘reject[s] outright’ Clemoes’ idea, viewing the passage as original to the *Interrogationes* (*Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 456–8). Fox, finding Pope’s arguments ‘persuasive’, finds it ‘safe to conclude that the original form of the *Interrogationes*’ is that found in R and S (‘Ælfric’s *Interrogationes Sigewulfi*’, pp. 29–30), while Clayton argues that Ælfric adds to the *Interrogationes* in R, placing the augmented text not in the period 993 x 998 (where Clemoes dates it), but here amidst phase ϵ^4 , stage 4b of *CH* I production (‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 390 and 377–8).
- ²⁸⁵ MS R; see also Phases ϵ^1 (between [A] 1002 and [B] later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005) and ϵ^3 (ca 1005–6) of *CH* I production, and the augmented form of *Menn behofiað* incorporated into *CH* I.39 in Phase ϵ^4 , Stage 4a (ca 1006 – [1009 x 1010]). The extract, originally drawn from *CH* I’s preface, appears both independently and incorporated into *CH* I.39; Clemoes assigns it either to ϵ^3 or ϵ^4 (*First Series*, p. 119; see also 37–8, 98, 114, 120–1, and 123–4).
- ²⁸⁶ On the date of this composite text, of which *De duodecim abusuiis* (see above, later in the period 993 x 998) forms the second part, see Clayton, *Two Ælfric Texts*, pp. 33–4; see also ‘Ælfric’s *De auguriis*’, pp. 377–8 and 389–90. *De octo uitiiis* 12–92 corresponds to part of *LS* 15 [Skeat I.16.267–381]; see above in the period 993 x 998.
- ²⁸⁷ Pope suggests that ‘late in Ælfric’s career’ (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 802), the monk added passages to the *Letter* to form an expanded version, now lost. Extracts survive, however, in two composite homilies: *De uirginitate* in MS V (Assmann 2, lines 132–88; on which, see *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 799 and 802) and *De sancta uirginitate* in MS H (Assmann 2, lines 13–224; on which, see below). In the former, the extract appears with *SH* II.30.1–74 (see below), both of which Pope describes as ‘textually late’ (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 802) – that is, at least after Ælfric becomes abbot later in the period 1002 x 16 November 1005, as the original *Letter* to *Sigefyrth* names him as such. The latter, however, appears in Hc, a section with *Catholic Homilies* material that Clemoes associates with Phase ζ of First Series dissemination and Godden associates with Archetype 2, Second Recension of Second Series dissemination – both dateable to the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010). As Ælfric’s additions to the *Letter* appear uniquely in *De uirginitate* and *De sancta uirginitate*, one may place them both in this span – perhaps contemporary with Phase ζ and Archetype 2 rather than succeeding them (as suggested visually by this table).
- ²⁸⁸ Pope describes this extract from the compilation *De uirginitate*, like the extract from Assmann 2 that appears there with it, as ‘very likely ... also late [in Ælfric’s career]’ (*Homilies*, vol. II, p. 802). For its possible connection to the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010), by association with ‘the range of Ælfric’s work in textually late form’ serving as source-material for *De uirginitate*, see *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 802, and above under the expanded *Letter* to *Sigefyrth*.
- ²⁸⁹ For the date of *De sancta uirginitate*, see Clemoes, ‘Chronology’, p. 57 – while noting Kezel, who, while not challenging Clemoes’ dating of *De sancta uirginitate* or *De uirginitate* [ca 1005–6], refers to the former as the first of the two works (‘Ælfric the Benedictine’, pp. 164–5 and 171). Regarding authorship, Clemoes initially attributes this composite homily to Ælfric (‘Chronology’, p. 35), Godden says that it ‘may be by Ælfric’ (*Second Series*, p. lxvi), Pope acknowledges Ælfric’s authorship of the individual pieces, while being unsure that Ælfric himself compiled the pieces in MS H: ‘There is no

- sign of ingenuity here, only a simple joining of two originally separate passages' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 31; cf. 141), and Clemoes finally describes it as 'only doubtfully by Ælfric' (*First Series*, p. 84, quoting 'Supplementary Introduction', p. xvii; and Pope, *Homilies*, vol. I, p. 31). Kezel, however, reviewing the evidence more recently, concludes that 'we are reasonably justified in viewing [both *De sancta uirginitate* and *De uirginitate*] as authentic works of Ælfric' ('Ælfric the Benedictine', p. 171; see also pp. 163–70).
- Clemoes and Godden associate *Catholic Homilies* material in Hc, the section in which *De sancta uirginitate* appears, with Phase ζ of First Series dissemination and Archetype 2, Second Recension of Second Series dissemination, respectively – that is, to the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010). For the expansion of Assmann 2 found also here, see above.
- ²⁹⁰ Clemoes attributes the work to Ælfric ('Chronology', p. 57); Pope accepts that it may be a late re-use by Ælfric of part of his *Letter to Wulfgeat* (Assmann 1, lines 90–312), but rejects as non-Ælfrician an eight-line introduction (*Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 72 and 142; introduction printed by Assmann, apparatus for line 90).
- ²⁹¹ Clemoes places the augmented text slightly after TH II ('Chronology', pp. 57, 52, and 55), but see above under Phase ε⁴, Stage 4b, of CH I.
- ²⁹² See 'Chronology', p. 57, and above in the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010), as well as LS 16 [Skeat I.17] and SH II.29.36–128 in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998.
- ²⁹³ See above under TH II in the period ca 1006 – (1009 x 1010).
- ²⁹⁴ Thus, from Ælfric's composition of SH II.14 until his death.
- ²⁹⁵ MSS R, B(e) [CH II.3], and T; see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii, xxxix, lxix–lxx, lii–liii, lxxvii, xc, and xciv. Archetype 4 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ²⁹⁶ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 53–4 and 98.
- ²⁹⁷ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 56.
- ²⁹⁸ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 59.
- ²⁹⁹ See Clemoes, *First Series*, pp. 60–1.
- ³⁰⁰ See Clemoes, *First Series*, p. 64.
- ³⁰¹ The three non-rhythmical passages (now comprising SH II.25) that Ælfric incorporated into CH II.22 in certain Archetype 4 and 5 manuscripts [R and f^b, respectively; for the latter, see below] may actually have been composed much earlier; see above in the period ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998.
- ³⁰² CH II.26.108–33 is augmented by two introductory sentences to form *De auaritia* as an independent piece in MSS B and R [Ker §310.82 and §41A.17]; see also the form incorporated into CH II.19 below in Second Recension, Archetype 5. Regarding Ælfric's authorship of the work, Pope suggests that its two introductory sentences – and thus, perhaps, the compilation as a whole – 'may or may not be by Ælfric' (*Homilies*, p. 16; see also p. 67). Clemoes does not ascribe the sentences to Ælfric (*First Series*, pp. 38–9), while Godden describes the text in neutral terms ('a passage on avarice, excerpted from [CH II.26]' [*Second Series*, p. lxviii; see also p. xxxviii]). On the debate over authorship of the form of *De auaritia* found in f^b, see Second Recension, Archetype 5 below.
- ³⁰³ Clemoes views the sentence that introduces SH II.30.75–114 at line 167 in MS R ('Ge hyrdon nu ... on þære ealdan æ' [Godden, *Second Series*, p. 254, apparatus]) as not by Ælfric (*First Series*, pp. 38–9).
- ³⁰⁴ The non-rhythmical SH II.30.75–114 having been composed earlier: see Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, pp. 800–1 and 760; vol. I, p. 147; and above in the periods ca 993 (after 4 June) – ca 998 (SH II.30.75–114) and ca 1005–6 (*De uirginitate*). Godden cites the additions in MS H as a witness of Archetype 2 of the Second Recension of CH II; see particularly the note on SH II.26 above under TH II, and cf. Pope, *Homilies*, vol. II, p. 760. See also note above under Phase ε⁴, Stage 4b, regarding the potential two stages of the R-type collection.
- ³⁰⁵ While noting that 'it is perhaps idle to speculate' on the dates of CH II additions, Pope suggests that SH II.23 'could have been written rather early in spite of its solitary appearance as an addendum to a textually late manuscript' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148). Such a position, however, is posited on Pope's understanding that 'there is no record of a reissue of CH II as a revised set, so that additions made early may have remained out of circulation, sometimes until after Ælfric's death' (*Homilies*, vol. I, p. 148) – a conclusion now superseded by Godden's account of the two Recensions.
- ³⁰⁶ In MS R [Ker §41.16], CH II.39.184–98 with a small addition at the end ('Tunc iusti fulgebunt ... on heora fæder rice' [Godden, *Second Series*, p. 333, apparatus]) forms a passage on the end of the world; Clemoes does not view the addition as being by Ælfric (*First Series*, pp. 38–9); see below, however, on Ælfric's possible responsibility for MS R as a whole.
- ³⁰⁷ MS f^b; see Godden, *Second Series*, pp. xxiii and lxiii–lxiv; see also pp. lxix, lxxvii, lxxiv–lxxv, xc, and xciv. Archetype 5 items are here listed in liturgical order.
- ³⁰⁸ The bulk of *De auaritia*, CH II.26.110–33, appears with an introductory sentence in f^b's version of CH II.19 [Ker §74.2], replacing lines 271–84 therein. Pope doubts that Ælfric was the one who incorporated the passage here – though he does assign to Ælfric another passage inserted into that homily at line

238 (after *swicolan and leasan*), which he prints as *SH* II.24 (see *Homilies*, vol. I, pp. 89–90, and vol. II, p. 751; and Godden, *Second Series*, p. 365). Clemoes suggests that the unique sentence that introduces the *De auaritia* extract in *CH* II.19 was ‘probably not by Ælfric’ (*First Series*, p. 53), while Godden views the sentence as ‘entirely in Ælfric’s manner’, arguing strongly that Ælfric was responsible for the extract’s interpolation (*Second Series*, pp. 363 and lxxiv). On the debate over authorship of the independent version of *De auaritia* in MSS B and R, see Second Recension, Archetype 4 above.

³⁰⁹ For Pope’s dating of this text, see above in the period *ca* 993 (after 4 June) – *ca* 998; see also Second Recension, Archetype 4 above.

³¹⁰ Given Ælfric’s dedication to the bishop of UK 9 / Assmann 4 (see Assmann, *Angelsächsischen Homilien*, p. 49).

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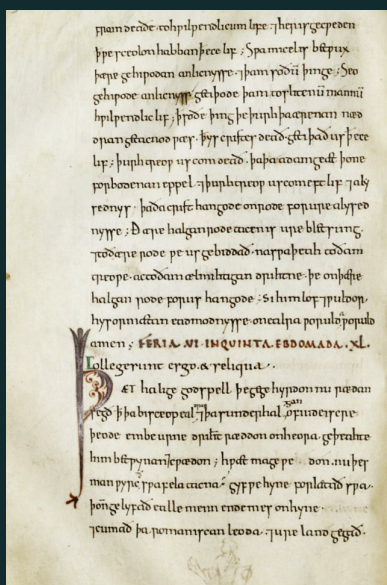
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